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A
DEFENCE
OF THE
PROPRIETORS
OF THE

British Sugar Colonies, &c. &c.

UNANSWERABLE

ARGUMENT

AGAINST THE

Abolition of the Slave Trade

WITH A

DEFENCE

OF THE

PROPOSITION

OF THE

PROPORTION

Printed



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UNANSWERABLE
A R G U M E N T S

AGAINST THE
Abolition of the SLAVE TRADE.

WITH A
D E F E N C E

OF THE

Proprietors of the British Sugar Colonies,

Against certain malignant Charges contained in
Letters published by a *Sailor*, and by *Luffman*,
Newton, &c.

REMARKS on the Dispositions and Characters of the
AFRICAN SLAVES;

And Means suggested for the Distribution of their Labour;

The Regulation of their Habitations, Foods, Cloathing, and
Religious Instruction;

The Accommodation of the Sick, and Cure of their Diseases;

Which may be most conducive to render them
Faithful, Obedient, and Happy.

Published for the Benefit of the starving Tin-Miners in CORNWALL.

By JAMES M. ADAIR, formerly M.D.

Member of the Royal Medical Society,
And Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, EDINBURGH.
One of the Judges of the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas
in the Island of ANTIGUA; and Physician to the Commander in Chief,
and the Colonial Troops of the said Island.

L O N D O N:

Sold by J. P. Bateman, No. 21, Devonshire-street.

ADVERTISEMENT

AN apology to the public is necessary for several irregularities in this work. The non-descript dialect mentioned in the preface will be inserted in the Essay on Quacks and Quackery, to which it more properly belongs; and the Poems are delayed as more proper for a future publication. As part of the work was printed in London, and part in Winchester, there is a slight difference in the type. The publication of the work has been delayed, partly by the death of a friend, who had undertaken to publish by an accident which befel the Author, who is now in distance life, in Winchester jail. Such accidents happen frequently to men of this class from various causes. To some because their credit is better established in the Court of Parliament, than in that of the Common Pleas. Others have suffered distance for such peccadilloes as entitled them to exaltation in the pillory, or on the gallows, or a transportation to Botany Bay.

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The publication of the work has been delayed, partly by the absence of a friend, who had undertaken it, partly by an accident which befel the Author, who is now "in durance vile" in Winchester jail.

Such accidents happen frequently to men of this class from various causes.

To some because their credit is better established in the Court of Parnassus, than in that of the Common Pleas.

Others have suffered durance for such *peccadillo's* as entitled them to exaltation in the pillory, or on the gallows, or a *translation* to Botany Bay.

But

But lest such imputations should injure the sale of this *invaluable* work, be it known to the reader, that our Author's offence is neither ungentlemanly nor unfashionable, being only that of sending a *dear friend* a polite invitation to the field of Mars; who preferred settling the business in the Court of King's Bench. From some demur about bail,* he will be under the disagreeable necessity of abiding the determination of the next sessions.

In the mean time, he should, indeed, be very ungrateful were he to omit his acknowledgments to the Earl of *Banbury*, who, as

* The unfortunate culprit cannot, in gratitude, omit this public opportunity of thanking his equally respected and respectable friends, Mr. John *Ting*, the thief-taker of Bow-street, and Governor *Thicknesse*, nostrum, rape, and murder monger; who proffered their security; but Mr. *Ting* alledging that *Thicknesse* was neither a *gentleman* nor a house-keeper, refused to join him in the bail bond.

Mr. *Thicknesse* had clogged his friendly offer with a condition not admissible by the bailee in his present situation; viz. that he should cudgel his antagonist; which must have been a dangerous breach of the peace; though he believes the said antagonist, and his dear friend *Thicknesse*, from their utter aversion to mortal combat, would prefer a pugilistical or bacularian decision of their disputes, to that of sharps or bullets.

acting

acting Magistrate, has procured him every accommodation the jail could afford; and has also, together with Doctors *Littlehales* and *Scott*, and a few other friends, by occasional visits, assisted in lessening that *tædium*, which must ever be the result of a sequestered situation; whilst the persecuting spirit of his inveterate foes has pursued him even to his confinement, with ill-grounded charges against those whose humanity and politeness he has experienced, and also with malignant calumnies against himself, which can only be refuted by a public vindication, which is now delayed by impediments artfully thrown in his way by his persecutors; but which shall soon be surmounted, after he has discharged prior obligations to the publick, respecting other works in which he had previously engaged.

The connexion between the cause of his confinement and his vindication is, he is informed, of such a nature, as to render the publication of the latter improper till after trial of the indictment at next sessions.

In the Press, and speedily will be published,

ESSAYS on Fashionable Diseases—The dangerous Effects of hot and crowded Rooms—Gentlemen and Lady Doctors—And on Quacks and Quackery, with the Patent Receipts of several celebrated Quack Remedies, taken from the Enrolments in Chancery: To which is added, a Dissertation on the Nature, Causes, and Cure of a Non-descript Disease.

To which are prefixed,

A Dedication to PHILIP THICKNESSE, Nostrum, Rape, and Murder Monger.

And a DRAMATIC DIALOGUE.

By BENJAMIN GOOSEQUILL and PETER PARAGRAPH.

For the Benefit of the Society for the Relief of Persons imprisoned for Small Debts.

And also, by the same Editors, and for the same Charitable Purpose—Memoirs of the Life, Travels, Adventures, and Vindication of a certain Medical Character—A Dedication to a certain Lady, her GUARDIANS, Lawyers, and Associates.—To which is added, A Dramatic Dialogue.

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TO HIS EXCELLENCY
THE HON. SIR THOMAS SHIRLEY, BART.
MAJOR-GENERAL OF HIS MAJESTY'S FORCES,
AND CAPTAIN-GENERAL AND COMMANDER IN
CHIEF IN AND OVER ALL HIS MAJESTY'S LEE-
WARD CARIBBEE ISLANDS, CHANCELLOR OF
THE SAME, &c.

TO THE
HON. THE SPEAKER, AND TO THE GENTLEMEN OF
THE HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY, AND THE OTHER
PROPRIETORS OF THE ISLAND OF ANTIGUA.

THIS FEEBLE ATTEMPT TO VINDICATE THE CHARAC-
TER, AND TO DEFEND THE TRUE INTEREST AND JUST
CLAIMS OF THE PROPRIETORS OF THE BRITISH SUGAR
COLONIES, SO ESSENTIALLY AND INSEPARABLY CON-
NECTED WITH THOSE OF THE BRITISH EMPIRE,
AGAINST THE CLAMOURS OF IGNORANCE AND PREJU-
DICE, AND THE EFFORTS OF MALIGNITY.

IS INSCRIBED,

WITH MUCH GRATITUDE,

RESPECT, AND ESTEEM,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL AND

OBLIGED SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

No. 16, Devonshire Street,
Queen Square,

TO HIS EXCELLENCY

THE HON. SIR THOMAS SPRINLEY BARONET
OF GREAT BRITAIN

AND CAPTAIN GENERAL AND COMMANDER IN

CHIEF OF HIS MAJESTY'S ARMS

WARD OF THE GREAT SEAL

THE SECRETARY

Parliamentary Secretaries

TO THE

hon. Sir Thomas Sprinley Bar. 1780
A. 1780

write to five, and those who have to

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Number is infinitely greater than

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the first is the Corollary, and the

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Book-making is become a Trade or

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education of the mind, and

certain previous Qualifications for

composing an Author of any Kind,

or a Knowledge of the particular

Subject

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(iii)

PREFACE.

Parasitorum Parasitarumque Caterva.

JUV.

AUTHORS may be divided into two Classes, those who write to live, and those who live to write.—Of the former Class, the Number is infinitely greater than of the latter.—To the former, Emolument is the *Conditio sine qua non*, *nam vivitur ingenio*; and hence Book-making is become a Trade or Craft, and as, *Scribimus indocti doctique*, the trivial Acquirement of certain previous Requisites for becoming an Author of any Kind, or a Knowledge of the particular

Subject, on which he is to treat, are not now deemed Necessary.

AN Author reasonably expects to find many Readers, even more Ignorant than himself; and urged by the irresistible Consideration, that he must *eat to live*, otherwise he cannot *live to write*, he boldly throws out his Tub to that *Leviathan* the PUBLIC.

FORMERLY, indeed, whatever an Author's Merit might be, his Success was tolerably certain, for the Reason assigned above: but since those confounded periodic critical Lucubrations, the Works of the *learned*,—succeeded by Reviews, Magazines, and even News-Papers, without Number, have become fashionable, and are thumbed equally by

by the *Master* and *Valet*—the *Lady* and *Lady's Woman*, Author-Craft is become more Difficult.

BUT *Necessity*, the Parent of *Ingenuity*, has suggested various Expedients.—Such as borrowing from Publications of some Merit, little known, or almost forgotten; either with or without a general Acknowledgment, or slight Reference; or if particular Reference is more convenient, astonishing the Reader with the Extent of your Erudition, by the multiplicity either of Quotations, or of simple References.

If the Subject has been treated of in a dead Language, of which the industrious Author is utterly Ignorant, a mere smattering in the modern universal Language, the
French,

French, answers the Purpose quite as well; for the Authors of that lively Nation have treated very learnedly on most Subjects; and of this Expedient, it is alledged, a former Bishop of *Gloucester*, the great literary Colossus of his Day, availed himself, especially in that stupendous Production of his, *The Divine Legation of MOSES*, as he understood very little either of *Greek* or *Latin*, being more of an *Attorney* than a *Divine*, hence his propensity to wrangling and argumentative Chicanery.

BUT even this Degree of Knowledge is not necessary; for as every Branch of Literature has been very extensively cultivated in our own Country; instead of the least Acquaintance with any Language, antient

tient or modern, *even his own*; an Author may produce a very decent Compilation, and acquire, to boot, the Credit of being deeply learned in *many*; provided he is tolerably *adroit* at Quotation, or Reference. But here there is some Hazard of blundering, especially if the Quoter shall unluckily stumble upon a typographical Error, or depends too much on the Strength of his Memory, even for the Recollection of one or two Words, as seems to have been the Case with Doctor *Adair's* old and *learned* Friends and Antagonists Doctors *Freeman* and *Thicknesse**.

THESE

Of this Species of Blunder, from utter *Ignorance* of the Language he quoted, there is a very laughable Instance in *Thicknesse's* Letter to Doctor *Adair*, where he substitutes *Navigat Anticyra*, for *Naviget Anticyram*. Were

HORACE

THESE Gentlemen, however, would have cut rather a more respectable Figure, either in the Field of Science or of Controversy, had they procured the Assistance of some Friend to have scoured their dirty Rags, and translated their Jargon into English.

BUT should an Author be able to form a tolerable Estimate of his own Powers, or rather of his own Deficiencies, which Ignorance never can; otherwise Authors would not be as plenty as Blackberries;

HORACE to peep into the Window at Mrs. Davis's, he would not know his own *Latin*. Doctor Freeman has also given a curious Specimen of his *Dog Latin* in his Motto: But what better was to be expected from a COOPER and FARRIER, though both *self created* Doctors of Physic: The latter, indeed, asserts he has a Diploma from *Aberdeen*; if so, it is not the first Time Universities have created *Asses* Doctors of Physic.

there

there are certain Modes of softening the Asperity of critical Animadversion ; or even of totally evading it.—Of the former, for prudential Reasons, the Author chuses to be silent.—Reviewers, like Poets, being *Genus irritabile eruditorum*, and their Motto *Nemo me Impune Laceffet* : concerning the latter a few Words will suffice.

It has become very much the Fashion of the present Day to catch the Eel of Science by the Tail ; and though she is apt to slip through our Fingers, somewhat of the Flavour adhering to the excrementitious *Mucus*, which besmears the Surface, still remains. From *this delectable Source*, many ingenious and useful Labours are ushered to the Public : such are your tiny Volumes in every Art

Art and Science for the Use of *Children*, of which even *such grown Infants* as the Parents, the Nurse-maid, the Footman, and the Cook, often experience the Benefit; and those learned Works of Compilation, which come out in Numbers; and as both those Kinds of Erudition are the *Noli me tangere* of Critics, the *learned* Authors are as safe as a Bug in a Rug.

AN Author who does not write to live, may still have sufficiently powerful Incentives to enter at the Literary Starting-Post. The love of Fame, is, as Doctor Young observes, an universal Passion; but the Author of the following Pages utterly disclaims it as a Motive.

AN Accident, which he will explain

plain in a future Publication, having thrown him out of the Practice of a Profession he loved, not so much on account of its Emoluments, as of its congeniality with his turn of Mind, he wanted some Relief to a Mind *not quite at Ease*, and, conceiving that he was not *totally* Ignorant of the Subjects he has undertaken to treat, he takes this opportunity of *amusing* himself, perhaps also of informing the Public.

Of the first Subject, respecting the state of Slavery in the *West Indies*, a long Residence within the *Torrid Zone*, made him a tolerable Judge. The greater Part of what he now offers to the Public, was laid before the Right Honourable the Committee of Privy Council, which he attended some Time ago. Necessarily
connected

connected with it is his Defence of a Part of his Majesty's Subjects, to whom he is, under GOD, indebted for every earthly Blessing, and with whom he shall ever regret he did not spend the remainder of a Life which, he hopes, cannot now be of long Duration; but which he is resolved to spend among them*.

DISDAINING the Idea of being deemed a *Plagiarist*, the Author confesses, that, except the Essay on a

* BUT as he wishes to settle all his sublunary Accounts before he passes that Bourne from whence no Traveller returns. If any Gentleman is of Opinion that the Author has misrepresented or done injustice to the Memory of Captain Thompson, he is ready to come to any Kind of Explanation he shall chuse, if he will call on him at No. 16, Devonshire Street, Queen Square, any Day after the 31st of December next; as, before that Time, he may not have fully adjusted his Concerns with his Friends, his Adversaries, and the Public.

Non-

Non-Descript Disease, which must be peculiarly agreeable to Ladies of a *certain Description*, a grateful Morsel to Nosologists, and a Crust for the Medical Critics, on which they may exercise their pathological *Grinders*; he acknowledges himself to be indebted to his *worthy Friend Doctor Adair*, lately of *Titchfield, Hants*, (to the respectable Inhabitants of which he manifests the most lively *Gratitude*,) for the Remainder: nor is it the first Time they have clubbed their *literary Talents*, but especially in the Composition of an Essay on *Quacks and Quackery*; a *Nineteenth Edition* of which is speedily to be published, with a most *respectful* Dedication to his old and very good Friend *Governor Thicknesse*.

INDEED the Author's Obligations to his Friend *Adair*, are beyond Conception great, and such is the congeniality of their Sentiments on every Subject, that in his *dear* Friend he contemplates Genius, Wit, Humour, Learning, Generosity, Philanthropy, Complacency, and, indeed, every other Virtue; all which he possesses in a *superlative* Degree, with as much Satisfaction as if they were his own.

THE Ladies will find in his Preface to the *Description of a newly invented Disease*, his most cogent Reasons for the Publication of it.

WITH respect to the Essay on the *Abolition of the Slave Trade*, he flatters himself they will accord with him; though, perhaps, not exactly

exactly on the same Principle, and be most strenuous Advocates for its continuance, as their Consequence in Society has ever depended on their holding their Lovers and Husbands in Bondage, whilst the Chains have not always been of the *Silken Kind*.—For, should this *licentious Spirit*, which has invaded the Nodules of a Nation, which formerly respected their GRAND MONARQUE, even to *Adoration*, extend itself, will there not be some hazard of the Ladies losing that sovereign Empire over the *Lords* of the Creation, which they have, by long Prescription, established into a Despotio Prerogative?

SLAVERY commenced, perhaps, very early in the World: the love of Power being an irresistible *Penchant*

in both Sexes, especially the Ladies. True, however, it is, that among barbarous Nations, the *Germans* particularly excepted, of whose *civility* *TACITUS* gives us no very exalted Idea, among whom the Ladies were Privy Counsellors, Doctors in Physick and Divinity, in a Word, Prophetesses, Priestesses, Doctresses, Ambassadors and Commanders in Chief at Home, the Wife was, and is, after Marriage, the Slave of the Husband, how absolute soever her Power may have been before it.

But in polished Societies (with an Exception to a few furlly Brutes of Husbands,) the Ladies have, generally, carried their Prerogative with a very high Hand, and no where more so than in the said Village of *Titchfield* and its Environs.

Even

Even the *Spartans*, rough Soldiers as they were, who treated the poor *Helotes* their Slaves, (formerly their Neighbours, and as free as any state in *Greece*) with almost as much wanton, though less deliberate Cruelty, as a Huckster (an *English* Man too) did a wretched Slave of his in *Antigua*, were, nevertheless so much the Slaves of their *Cara Sposa's*, that they claimed the *Prerogative*, (especially if the Husband was old, feeble, or ugly, of employing younger *Cicisbeo's* to mend the Breed; and the fashionable Ladies, in this very free Country, seem to claim the same valuable *Prerogative*. How it might have fared, or may fare, with his old Friend, the *A.* shall not determine; but he believes he will never again run any Hazard in doubtful Cases.

THE Property of some of the Antients in Slaves was immense. The Grecian History is silent on this Subject; but the young Spartans, not only with a View to acquire Perfection in Military Stratagem, but to keep their sanguinary Hands in use, waylaid and destroyed Two Thousand *Helotes* at one Time. They moreover obliged those Wretches to drink to Intoxication, and exposed them in that state to their Children, to shew them the Depravity of so beastly a Vice.

With respect to the Romans, many of the Patricians seem to have been possessed of an immense Number of Slaves, and the celebrated Guttler LUCULLUS is said to have had Thirty Thousand: But except during the Celebration of the *Saturnalia*, the Condition

Condition of a *British West India* Slave is perfect Freedom when compared with that of a Slave among the *Greeks and Romans*.

THERE are some Poems in which the Author's Friend who sent them claims no *literary Property*, he suspects, however, that the *Epigrammatic Impromptu* on HIS ANNETTA may be his.

THE Medical Essays he has thrown in to eke out this Volume, are on a Subject of great importance, and on which he hopes he has been so plain and explicit, that even Readers, who are not medical Men, may understand them. Without the Parade of extensive reading, or a single Quotation or Reference to others, he gives his Thoughts *e proprio Penu*; and should

should *Critics* think they have little Merit, the Application of the *Nett Profits* to an *useful Charity*, may, at least, be pleaded in Extenuation, for ushering to public Notice a *Morceau*, from the Suppression of which the Public might not have sustained an irreparable Loss.

THE Trifles which close the Work may amuse the learned Reader.

THE *Editor* and his *Friend*, as the Wants of the *Miners* seem to be pressing, have clubbed *Twenty Pounds* towards their immediate Relief, which are to be deducted from the *Profits*; trusting to the *Humanity* of a **GENEROUS PUBLIC** for a speedy and extensive *Sale* of this *Charitable Work*.

A DEFENCE

(29)

A
D E F E N C E
OF THE
P R O P R I E T O R S
OF THE
BRITISH SUGAR COLONIES, &c.

C H A P. I.

THE author of the following remarks on letters written by a young Midshipman, termed *Sailor's Letter*; who, he confesses, was more of a scholar than gentlemen of the navy in general are, and for this reason merits more particular notice; and the author of those letters being *now* no more, his strictures will be treated with less severity than they would have been, had he survived; because, the author is convinced he would have been ashamed of such of them as related to one of our *West India* islands, especially had

C

he

he read the observations of a man who had better means of information than he could possibly have had, even when commander of one of his Majesty's ships of war; and poor as he is, and a *Scotsman* to boot, and therefore a lover of money, he would give one hundred guineas were the author alive to read them, that he might exult in his candid retraction, perhaps it merits a harsher term. But the great error Captain *Thompson* fell into, was, that, being a man of sense, he should continue, in a second edition, to give sanction to manifold untruths delivered, from improper information, or ill-grounded prejudice, *by a boy*, who could have no opportunity of knowing, as will be shewn, the real state of the country.

No man of honour will decline to confess, on better information, that he has been mistaken; but if Captain *Thompson* in 1767, when he was eleven years older, continued to believe that the remarks of 1756, were in any respect consistent with truth; he must either have been the most superficial, or the most prejudiced traveller, that ever visited any country. But, that prejudice guided him in his remarks, will be proved

proved incontrovertibly in the following pages, and the appeal will be made to some gentlemen in his own line, whose opportunities of information were infinitely superior to any Mr. *Thompson*, Midshipman, or Captain *Thompson* of the *Hyæna*, could possibly have had.

The author, though not a native of the *West Indies*, is bound by every tie that can engage the attachment and affection of any man who has the least spark of gratitude for innumerable favours received from the natives of a country, who, with respect to those qualities of the heart and head which render men valuable members of society, are not inferior to the natives of any country on the face of the earth.

This, the author does not throw out lightly, but from an experience, equal, at least, to that of any person, *not a native*, who ever resided in that country.

And he deems it to be peculiarly incumbent on him to vindicate the natives of the *English West India Colonies*, because, at this time especially, ignorance and prejudice

have united their forces to violate truth for *factious* purposes, and the torrent of obloquy has been hitherto almost irresistible.

He will make no apology for certain warm expressions he may be induced to make use of; he ought rather to apologize to his generous and worthy friends and former patrons; that, though he despises the fordid maxim of "*de Mortuis nil nisi bonum.*" He would treat the memory of an ingenious man with some degree of lenity, merely because he does not survive, either to call him out *as a gentleman*, or refute him by his pen; with neither of which invitations he has ever been backward to comply.

About four years ago the author meeting in Mr. Bull's catalogue at Bath, the title of *Sailor's Letters*, had the curiosity to know what sort of letters a seaman could write, and he took up the book with much avidity; for he has known an officer high in the service who could not spell a monosyllable, and he knows a gentleman, *just raised* to a rank he more than merited, who

who in his epistolary correspondence, whether official or familiar, would have done credit to the highest department of the state.

His indignation to find that a young seaman, a Midshipman of genius, and with education superior to what *gentlemen* seamen generally enjoy, should so prostitute his talents, as either to be the dupe of credulity, or so forfeit his character, as a gentleman, as to be guilty of gross falshood, was such, that he took a liberty, for the information of future readers, ignorant of that country, of doing what is done in the books of circulating libraries : He wrote marginal notes on the several obnoxious passages.

Otherwise employed at that time, he had not leisure to encounter the gentleman *then*, he believes alive, with his grey goose quill; determined, however, to seize some other opportunity of doing justice to a country which, in every manly and respectable quality, is, he asserts, and is ready to prove it, at least, equal to that in which Mr.

T. drew his first breath, or to the subordinate departments of *Ireland* or *Scotland*.

In his strictures he shall adhere strictly to truth, and shall appeal to two gentlemen of the navy, both *Englishmen*; one, Sir *John Laforey*, a gentleman he has known for more than thirty years; and whose friendship, of which he had experienced many exemplary instances, he deemed one of the first honours of his life. Of this gentleman he has a right to speak, because the few discerning readers will do him the justice to suppose he is a tolerable judge, and asserts, without hazard of being contradicted, that he is a man of genius, and if we may infer from the purity of his style, is a scholar; he means a classical scholar, if he is not so, (for Sir *John* is as modest as he is brave,) it redounds infinitely more to his honour; for, whilst a dunce with much *Greek* and *Latin* in his head writes like a school-master, this gentleman, whatever his stock of either may be, writes with all the accuracy of a scholar, and what is better, with the elegance of a polite gentleman.

He

He does not profess himself to be a judge of nautical merit; but, having been conversant with gentlemen of that line, he will venture to say, that, had he been born to the succession of the *British* throne (and he thanks GOD he was not, for unhappy as he is at this instant, a *crown* would, to him have been a curse;) he knows not a man to whom, from the report of competent judges, he would have entrusted the care of his fleet, the bulwark of this kingdom, sooner than to his old friend, had the fate of his empire depended upon it.

To Captain *Holloway* he next appeals, a gentleman with whom his acquaintance is but slight, but who is deemed a good and gallant officer. He might have mentioned gentlemen of superior rank, with whom he has not the honour of familiar intercourse; Admiral *Hotham*, and Sir *Charles Middleton*, gentlemen who need only be named to remind the public that their professional merit is of the first rate; but not knowing their sentiments he dare not presume, without their permission, to express them; but, as men of honour and liberal senti-

ment, he is verily persuaded, they would be perfectly conformable to truth.

And, being on this subject, let him drop (literally) a tear on the graves of many gallant officers and seamen, whom, either as physician to the hospital, or when in consultation with other physicians, he has seen fall a sacrifice, partly to the climate, but chiefly to irregularities excusable in a race of men, who were ever disposed to brave danger in any shape. But among other equally good men, he ought not to forget the brave seaman Captain *Pitt* *, who died his patient, and who, whilst he derived respectability from the great Lord *Chatham*, but still greater Mr. *Pitt*, the saviour of this kingdom, reduced to a state of abasement by *Scottish* influence, unsupported by ability, reflected honour, even upon the present *Prime Minister*, who, not inferior to his god-like father in point of integrity, is not, perhaps, less illustrious in point of genius and ability.

It

* The painful recollection of this noble young man's death, reminds him of the superlative merit of his friend Dr.

Young,

It may be thought, that by this encomium, the editor's friend is paving the way for some handsome sinecure. But though he *feebly* endeavoured to support, at the hazard of his life, the rights of the *Brunswick* line, and, *what is of infinitely more importance*, the freedom of his country, in the rebellion 1745; he never solicited, but once, any employment, and that was professional, and to which one of the first physicians of any age or country, Dr. *Heberden*, deemed him equal; he was rejected in favour of——he shall not say what, by the then secretary of war, though supported by a noble Duke* of whom he cannot

Young, physician to the naval hospital at *Antigua*, with whom he was some times joined in vain efforts to rectify the medical blunders of others. Of this gentleman too much cannot be said, not merely for his professional skill, which is of the first rate, but for his humanity and high sense of duty in the exercise of his profession, of which the brave fellows who were the objects of his care reaped the benefit, by restored health; and their country the advantage of the farther services of a most useful body of men.

* Alas! since the above went to the press, this noble Duke is now no more! The most dutiful of sons, the most affectionate of husbands and fathers, the most firm patron and friend;

he cannot say too much, and one of the first *men* this country ever produced for genius and ability as a statesman, and *bravery* as a soldier, notwithstanding *German* influence, and the prejudices of an illiberal *English* mob, great or small. Peace be to his *Manes*! Posterity will do him justice; and his Sovereign knew and acknowledged his worth, by the marks of distinction he bestowed on him, and they were never more worthily bestowed. He need not say, he means the late Lord *Sackville*: he should not have said so much of him, had he survived.

It remains to consider the obnoxious passages in the second edition of the letters; the first volume having been occupied in giving the authors remarks on the *East Indies*, they are passed over; but if there are, in any proportion, as many falsehoods in the

friend; as the author had for many years experienced; and, in every other relation of life, whether as a *subject*, or a *neighbour*, he had discharged his duty with the utmost punctuality: After this need he say, that the Duke of CHANDOS was that MAN!

first

first as are to be found in a few pages of the second volume, of which gentlemen who have visited the *East* are the only judges; it may be deemed as complete a romance as *Gulliver's Travels*.

Vol. II. page 18. " The inhabitants are about 10,000 *whites* and 15,000 *blacks*." This island was deemed more populous about 1747, including soldiers and seamen, than at any other period, and there were not 5000 *whites* of every denomination; but there were above 40,000 *blacks* and *mulattos*:—So much for the accurate information acquired by this young man, on a point on which every traveller will endeavour to be as accurate as possible: The state of the population of a country leading to many very useful commercial, and political inferences.

Ibid. " In *St. John's* the houses are very low." There are now, and were then, many houses in *St. John's* not very low, as having a first floor; the term implying a want of this floor. There were also houses built of stone and brick.

Ibid.

Ibid. "Eighteen-shillings being a common price for a turkey, which *are* brought, (not grammar) and almost every thing else from *North America* in the lumber vessels." He must mean sterling, when he mentions the price of a turkey; but not one fiftieth part of the turkeys or other animals appropriated as food for man is brought from *America*. The inhabitants, especially the planters, being very industrious in breeding them,

Ibid. "In a dry season water is often dearer than claret." Well done young Midshipman—that is indeed a bouncer!—Water has indeed been dear in that country, for the captains of ships who water there, have, in very dry seasons, been obliged to give sometimes two dollars for a puncheon; and the newspapers inform us that it is now sold from 10 to 15s. per 100 gallons. This must be currency, and two dollars, now estimated at 8s. 3d. each, are equal to about 9s. sterling; but the cistern water has been sold for 3s. that currency per pail, holding more than 3 gallons, that is about 20d. sterling.

Now,

Now, with respect to claret, A. seldom could afford to give it to his friends; but a short time before A. left the island, he gave one dinner, to the Generals *Shirley*, *Matthews*, *O'Hara*, and other officers then commanding there, and his old friend Commodore, now Sir *John Laforey*; and another to his brother judges and the gentlemen of the bar, and that gave him an opportunity of knowing, what he otherwise should not have known, that the claret he gave his company cost him about 10s. sterling per bottle.

Irish claret is cheaper, and four prize claret has been sold sometimes for 40 or 50s. currency, per hogshead; but it was not fit for any purpose but to make bad vinegar. It is a curious fact, that exposure to great heat has restored four wine in that country*. Even in *France*, where A. purchased a cask of the *Vin du Pays* at *St. Germain en laye*, and which was not stronger than small beer, it

* This was found to be true, by exposing a cask of four *Madeira* wine belonging to Governor *Byam* of *Antigua*, to the combined heat of a *Magoffe* heap, and of the direct rays of the sun for some time.

cost about 3*d.* a bottle.—So much for wine:

Ibid. “ Upon this isle there is but one spring, which is medicinal, and alternately hot and cold twice every 24 hours.” *A.* has traversed every quarter of that isle, but never heard of such a spring, and is verily convinced that none such exists. There is, indeed, a great deficiency of springs in that island, but not quite so great as this gentleman tells us; for there are several springs of drinkable water, though not very pure. There is one*, the current of which traverses a great part of the island, so considerable in one part of its course, that *A.* when a manager of the adjacent estate, was nearly drowned in it, but

* This body of water is so considerable, that the late Governor, General *Burt*, who ever had the interest of the colonies at heart, and was indefatigable in promoting it, employed Mr. *Killeen* the surveyor, a very worthy old *German*, to survey the ground, and determine concerning the practicability of conveying the water to the town of *St. John's* for the use of the inhabitants; but what became of the project *A.* does not know, as the general died very soon after his patient in consequence of strange prepossession and obstinacy.

saved

saved by the affection and intrepidity of a Negro slave, who at the imminent hazard of his own life, threw himself instantly into the water, whilst a dastardly Scot, who had been often indebted to his friendship and hospitality, would not approach him, though he was then swimming around him.

He would here remark, that though a Scot, he never owed an obligation, to any man of that nation, but to General Melville, the late General Dalrymple, Commodore Geddes, the late Earl of Glencairn, a gentleman, a relation now dead, Sir Charles Middleton*, and Dr. Garthshore, and Carmichael Smith; the latter, though his junior, his contemporary at Edinburgh, and in point of genius and professional
ability

* This gentleman, lately one of his physicians, with Dr. Garthshore, to both of whom he shall ever consider himself as much obliged for their endeavours to save a life which was a burthen to the possessor, has uncommon abilities as a physician, but especially in the management of that bane of this country, *consumption*. He should have been very sorry, if in the catalogue of obligations he had omitted *John Hunter*,
Esq;

ability, did not leave his superior behind him. Of Dr. *Garthshore's* abilities he is a less competent judge, but his reputation is, he believes, deservedly very high.

There is another considerable spring at *Cadiz Bay*, where the ships of war sometimes water, and a very few others of little importance.

And here it may be remarked, that the want of water is not often felt, from the great number of ponds, some public, others dug in almost every plantation; tanks or reservoirs, and water butts at almost every house.

So much for water.

Esq; whom merely to name as a man of sterling genius, an anatomist, and a surgeon, is sufficient to remind the public that had no other man of that nation ever evinced any genius, it would be sufficient to rescue the country from the imputation of hebetude, as *Epaminondas*, *Plutarch* and *Pelopidas* rescued *Boeotia* from the scandal of being a nation of dunces.

To his late worthy neighbour, Mr. *Miller*, surgeon, at *Hammermith*, and a man of abilities, he stands indebted for much civility.

This

This 18th page is admirably prolific, for it contains no less than five of Captain *Thompson's* truisms. We now proceed to some more of his truisms. Page 19, "All the good living is amongst the planters in the country, where, if you are a *Scotsman* you may be well entertained." The planters had a right to live well, as they did not do it at Mr. *Thompson's* expence; but he seems to be very much offended that they did not permit him to live well at theirs: though, notwithstanding Mr. *Thompson's* assertion to the contrary, many of his corps did, as will appear hereafter.

A. confesses with shame and contrition that he has incurred the guilt of having drawn his first breath at *Inverness*; and is therefore, to every intent and purpose, a *North Briton*, but not a *Scotsman*; for of this denomination he has known but few, and one of them a serjeant in the regiment of *Scot's Greys*.

But whether a *North Briton* or a *Scot-*
man, he did not know how much he was
 indebted to the country of his birth, for the
 D generosity,

generosity and friendship he experienced in many acts of hospitality and kindness, from the natives of the *West Indies*: He had the vanity and presumption to think that it might, in a very small degree, be the result of some companionable qualities, which the partiality of that worthy kind-hearted people gave him credit for, but chiefly of the innate goodness of their dispositions. But even with this information conveyed to him by the sagacity of Mr. *Thompson*, had it been *quite* in his choice, as it was not; he would rather have entered on his probationary state in the *Torrid Zone*, than even in *England* itself. Obnoxious as *Scotsmen*, so called, have long been to some of their *liberal* and *urbanic* fellow-subjects the *English*, it may be supposed *A.* was not very fond of connecting his reputation with those reprobated outcasts; and he remembered the observation and admonition of his father, who *was not* a *Scot*, but a man of more genius and learning than many *Scotsmen* are. Who and what he was, may be told the reader in a future publication: His injunctions to him when he took his last leave of him, were that he should divest himself of all national prepossession

prepossession or prejudice, consider himself as a subject of the *British* realm, and shake off his provincial jargon as soon as possible: Like a dutiful son, he complied; in so much that, in his attachments, or his dialect, he never could be suspected of being a *North Briton*.

An extraordinary instance of this complete deception occurred a few weeks ago, whilst he resided at his country lodgings. It is the delight of old men to tell old stories. In a stage from *London* to *Hammersmith*, he had for his companion a *true Scotsman*, with all the brogue of a raw *Scot* (for why should not a *Scot* have a brogue as well as an *Irishman*: *A.* loves an *Irishman* above any being, but a *West Indian*) just emigrated from the land of cakes, though he had been forty years from that *dear* country: (a *Scotsman* never leaves his country for want, for he finds enough of that at home, and therefore chuses to leave that uncomfortable associate behind him;) this man entertained him with transactions so far back as the year 1745, when, it seems, he marched from *Kilmarnock* to *Glasgow*, as one of the

country militia, to defend that loyal city from the vengeance of a rascally banditti under the guidance of a *Pretender* who had not spirit enough to hazard his life even for a Crown,—A glorious prize for an ambitious spirit, but often a crown of thorns to the wearer.

The *Glasgow* regiment, in which A's. father was eldest captain, and A. his second lieutenant, a lad not seventeen years of age, had marched to defend the city of *Edinburgh*, in daily expectation of being attacked by the rebel army, then retreating before the *Duke* of CUMBERLAND's army. Being in the neighbourhood of *Glasgow*, he talked much of his knowledge of the officers of that regiment, and its prowess at the battle of *Falkirk* (not much of that) but was astonished to find that he had been giving the detail to an officer of that regiment who had been taken prisoner with his wounded father, at that strange rencounter, in which both armies retreated.

Reader! have you never remarked the confusion of a man, who, indulging the
spirit

spirit of gasconade, mingles some truth with something that is not strictly so, in a narrative to a stranger, who he can have no conception is able to detect him, and finds that the *narratee* (why not coin a word) not only knows more of the affair than himself, but is conscious that he has rather stretched a little, for the entertainment of the said stranger; a story not being worth a farthing without certain degrees of embellishment.

On such occasions, the *narratee*, if he has a drop of the milk of human kindness in his composition, will conceal from his communicative friend the least intimation of his having exceeded the truth: such, courteous reader, you will do A. the justice to suppose was his conduct, and you will do him but justice: parting with his countryman at the end of *Webb's-lane*, he gave him a hearty invitation to crack a bottle of wine with him; but he has not yet seen him.

But to return to his *dear* countrymen, and Mr. *Thompson*, of neither of whom he had entirely lost sight in this excursion.

These same *Scotsmen* seem to have stuck in Mr. *Thompson's* stomach, or rather by the way; and he was in danger of suffocation by the size or hardness of the morsel.

There is nothing rouses the choler of an *Englishman* so much as the idea that an *itchy lousy Scot* should be preferred to him in any instance: and his resentment is well founded.

Shall starving *Peg* presume to put herself on a footing with the great, the superb, JOHN BULL, the most exalted of human beings?!!!

But if the generous CREOLE really gave such a preference, A never suspected it; or, totally destitute of national prepossession, he would have resented it, and renounced his country, with which he never did, nor shall, ever wish to have the most distant affinity*.

Mr. T. dwells on his subject *Con Amore*, for he has one or two more slaps at these unfortunate objects of his envy.

* A., in his acknowledgements, forgot Professor *Whyte*, James Baillie, Esq; and his friend Doctor *Duncan*, all respectable *Scotsmen*.

P. 19. " Most of the overseers are *Scotsmen* who *perhaps* have been transported to *Virginia*, and from thence escaped to rule here."

All the preceeding assertions have been decided and peremptory ; here our young traveller modestly qualifies by a *perhaps*; and, in truth, he had never more occasion for this doubtful expletive; but *A.* who loves *Scotsmen* almost as little as *Mr. T.*, would, without hesitation, have converted his doubt into certainty, could he have done it without offering extreme violence to his conscience: but to serve a good cause *Mr. T.* does not always boggle about trifles.

But having, at different periods, resided in that country twenty-two years, he never heard of a *Scots* convict or any other who had thus escaped to a warmer climate.

There is one island, *Jamaica*, to which convicts were formerly conveyed, and *A.* has heard that the ancestor of a late Alderman was thus creditably, and, in the event emolumentally (another good word) ushered

into that society; and a few decimated *Scots* rebels, (with whom *A's* good friend *Thicknesse* has thought proper to associate the said *A.*) into the island of *Barbadoes*.

But the *Leeward Charibbee* Creoles have been so attentive to the purity and immaculability (another excellent phrase) of their society, as not to admit either convicts, rebels, or even Jews, though they have at times admitted some very scurvy *Christians*.

Scotsmen are however transported thither very often, but not precisely in that mode, and so indeed are *English*, *Welsh*, and *Irish* gentlemen adventurers.

An old *Scottish* doctor, who somehow or other had engrossed three or four plantations in *Antigua*, (*A.* never had a foot of land there) having, after many years revisited his *Natale solum*, and being about to return to *A.* bethought himself of an expedient to reimburse himself his travelling expences (a circumstance a *Scotsman* never loses sight of) and indented, at *Aberdeen*, a
number

ber of pretty *Scottish* lads, as servants, whom he promised to make captains of militia on their arrival.

Having however, been a little too economical in the article of providing for his future captains; before the voyage was compleated, provisions ran rather short, and the half starved *Scots*, being on the point of utter starvation, mutinied.

The poor doctor, being on the point of being quartered and eaten by his servants; to pacify them, assured them solemnly that, instead of captains, they should all be *Maajor*-generals; the bait took; but as he was a very courtier in his promises, he was so also in his performances.

A bonny *Scots* lad, one of his *Maajor*-generals, who had swept the office of an *Aberdeen* writer or attorney (some great men even in this country whom A. has in his eye at this present writing, have commenced their studies both in law and phyfic with equal respectability) being sold to a friend of A's, and having met with
the

the laws of *Antigua* in his masters book room, and finding that indented servants had a claim to a certain quantity of beef and flour per week, brought the bones of the beef to his master, and insisted on having an equal weight of meat: the law not having taken any notice of bones, which, not being edible or digestible, even by a *Scot*, could not be deemed a part of his legal allowance: the affair being carried before a justice of the peace, the *Scot* was non-suited, and obliged to consider bones as meat, with as much implicit faith as *Peter* contended that a crust of bread was a shoulder of mutton*. Thus foiled, *John*, alias lawyer *Finney*, happening to meet with his indenture, found that the doctor, to save expence, had orderd the bipartite deed to be written on unstamped paper; of this legal flaw in the obligation *John* availed himself, and he obtained his freedom: *John* being a free man became a manager, and was so fond of law, that every court day he might be seen, with his crown close

* Vide the Tale of a Tub.

shaved, seated on one of the steps which led to the bench, and has now more law in his head than a certain *Attorney* in *Hants*, or perhaps the *Counsellor* into the bargain.

Ibid. "These islands are certainly the happiest *Azylums* (a new mode of spelling) for fugitives and convicts, &c."

It often happens that a man who consciously tells a lie, is, by the frequent repetition of it, at last firmly persuaded that it is as true as gospel.

So our candid *Midshipman*: he commenced his story with a *perhaps*, and terminates it with a *certainty*.

Were *A.* in the humour of entering into a metaphysical explanation of this progressive operation of the human mind, he could easily make the whole as plain as a pikestaff to any fish woman or waterman in the purlieus of *Billingsgate*.

But he has ever considered abstract ideas as *Ignes fatui*, which like *Wills o'the wisp*, have

have led even learned noddles into a maze of absurdity : how much more the *Brutum Vulgus*, who ought never to be trusted with more than a few grains of common sense, the only kind of sense that is worth a louse ; and of which *A.* confesses he never had an atom, otherwise he should not at this day have been the victim of artifice and treachery.

For, true and dear friends, male or female, he has found to be indeed *raræ aves*. His friend (perhaps he presumes too much, and asks pardon for the presumption) General *Melville*, told *A.* one morning, in his own house, where he did *A.* the honour of taking a bed with him 30 years ago, on casting his eye upon *Locke*, that he could abstract quality from substance, notwithstanding the assertion of that great metaphysician to the contrary.

A., from his knowledge of the General's mental powers, was ready to believe that his excellency could do every thing that is within the compass of human capacity, but took the liberty of modestly doubting the fact: for instance, that, in contemplating
a black

a black horse or a whitened wall, the qualities of black and white could be abstracted from the substances, horse and wall.

A. with the accumulated experience of thirty years, is confirmed in his theory, and contends that knavery and chicanery are as inseparable from a pettyfogging attorney, as inconstancy and coquetry are from an antique virgin of forty-two, who has been crossed in love.

He humbly intreats the General's pardon for dissenting from a gentleman, who is as much his superior in mental capacity, as A., with the utmost diffidence, conceives, he is superior to an unlettered porter: though he acknowledges that, as a shepherd, *Ferguson*, became, by dint of genius, one of the greatest astronomers of the age, and *Herschel*, a musician, is almost the first in that line, now in the world; and has adorned our planetary system with a *Georgium sidus*, (long may our KINGS be *sidera primæ ordinis*, as the friends of LIBERTY and of the BRITISH NATION) so he does not deny, that, in the humblest walks of life, there may be found

found a *Newton*, or a *Horsley*, in philosophical attainments; a *Mansfield*, a *Camden*, a *Thurlow*, and a *Loughborough*, in legal knowledge: a *Pitt*, a *Leeds*, a *Hawksbury*, and a *Grenville* in political sagacity and integrity: a *Porteus*, in the theological line; and a *Rodney*, a *Howe*, a *Hood*, a *Barrington*, a *Hotham*, a *Middleton*, a *Laforey*, and a *Faulknor* in naval ability: to which list why should he not add a *Thompson*, though he has not attained that eminence his services and skill merited.

Pa. 19. "The greatest part of the estates are conducted by overseers, the most of which (whom) are *Scotsmen*, who, *perhaps*, have been transported, &c." Out of 227 plantations, too many of which (perhaps two thirds,) are directed by overseers, A. has been taxing his recollection to form an accurate calculation of the proportion of *Scots* who were managers at any one period most favourable to Mr. T's. assertion; and he verily believes they did not exceed twenty. A., himself being one, was urged, by one of the guardians, to superintend the plantation of the nephew of A's wife, who, with her mother,

who

who was a part of *A's* family, were most likely to assist in those most necessary duties, the care of feeding the slaves, and nursing them when ill; duties, which many *West Indian* wives perform with a laudable assiduity.

Not one of those twenty, so far as he recollects, were either fugitives from *Virginia*, or had even been Doctor *Tullidolph's* *Maajor*-generals; for *Lawyer Finney* had not then emigrated from the land of cakes.

Ibid. “The planter struts a petty king amidst his slaves, and has his black seraglio.” The term *Planter* is equivocal; it may imply either proprietor, manager, or lower white servants: they are, in truth, all planters, in the laxer sense of the term.

But it is probable that he meant proprietors, or such *Scotsmen* managers, as not having sufficiently plundered their absent masters, to become proprietors themselves, could not afford to keep a seraglio: for, *A.* never kept a seraglio, one wife or *Concubine* at a time being sufficient
for

for him; (poor *Jenny*, her story will be told in a future publication;) and; therefore, *A.* cannot speak from experience; yet supposing that black and yellow w——s are just as mercenary as those of that description in *Great Britain*, he believes even the pay of the Captain of the *Sterling Castle*, his superior officer, would not have been sufficient for the purpose, much less that of a Midshipman; unless *Mr. T.* paid his *Dulcinea* as a certain gentleman of the navy did. The story is laughable, but indelicate; and therefore fit only for the private ear of such of that corps as may chuse to benefit by the hint; for many of those gentlemen are just as deficient in the *needful*, as any *Scot* when he first passes the borders of this land of *Canaan*, flowing with milk and honey; of which, to do him justice, he seldom fails to partake, pretty plentifully, by some means or other, (*Virtus post Nummos*,) and sometimes is as little nice about the choice of his means as an *English NABOB*.

But it may be asked how *Mr. T.* acquired so intimate a knowledge of a planter's family? Probably from some of the ladies
of

of the said seraglio, who, either from the love of variety, or a certain strong *penchant* those ladies of easy virtue have for dollars; for Captain *Thompson*, when he attained that respectable rank, whatever he might have done when a simple Midshipman, could not offer less to a lady whose very petticoats (a part of the ladies paraphernalia, with which the *Gallant* is supposed to be peculiarly familiar) in number and value exceed the whole wardrobe of many a worthy woman.

Those ladies, as little retentive in point of secrecy as of virtue, may have boasted of the number of their associates; for even w——s endeavour to derive a subsidiary consequence from their connexions, as their *MASSA* must be a grandee *BACKRA*, in proportion to the number of his convenient females.

But of this sordid subject enough, *pour à present*; A. fears he must renew it in his strictures on a succeeding page of this *genuine*, as ingenious, sketch of the manners and customs of the *West Indies*. And here, lest he

E should

should omit it on a more proper occasion, A. will only remind those readers of taste, (and they must have been totally destitute of taste who did not relish his labours) of the division of travellers made by that legitimate son of genius, wit and humour, the celebrated *Sterne*; who among other just distinctions, has established that of the *lying* travellers. A., to evince his taste, solemnly declares that, though a *Scot*, and therefore, of course, a lover of money, and not quite so wealthy as an *English* Nabob; because the little he has acquired, (one shilling sterling excepted, which he certainly pilfered, the story shall be circumstantially told in a future publication) he acquired it by an honest conscientious discharge of his duty; and yet he would give five hundred pounds, that he had never read a line of *Sterne's* works; and that the gratification were still to come.

Ibid. " Planters in general are haughty, ignorant, and cruel, which (this is not grammar) arises from the despotic government over their poor slaves, who are whipped and drove (driven) by the lash like

like cattle.* That many Planters, especially *Scots* are haughty enough, and A. with respect to himself, admits the charge, is very true; and surely it would be the height of injustice not to admit a truism, and that some of them are ignorant and cruel must also be admitted. With respect to cruelty, a more proper occasion may be taken of discussing that question: in the mean time A. will only observe, that as *Europeans* in general are much more severe task-masters than the native *whites*; so he knew four or five *Englishmen*, one of them late store-keeper at *English Harbour*, (the gentleman who holds that office now being in every respect the reverse of his predecessor), who were remarkably so.

But, to return to the charge of *ignorance*, the candid reader will not admit the charge, when A. produces a catalogue of natives of that island, *proh dolor!* now no more, and mentions his *friends*, Sir *William Young*, *Edward Horne*, *Edward Trant*, Esq. and Alderman *Oliver*, (he glories in his right to the claim) Colonels *Martin* and *Gilbert*, Colonel *Martin*, jun. Mr.

Gilbert, eldest son of the Colonel; Mr. *Lightfoot*, Sir *George Thomas*, Judge *Blizard*; Sir *George Thomas*, Mr. *Jefferson*, father of the Judge; Mr. *Burton*, father of the Chief Judge; *Francis Farley*, Esq. the Rev. *Francis Byam*, President *Jarvis*, *Ashton* and *Thomas Warner*, Esquires, successive Attornies-general, *William Warner*, Esq. *William Gunthorpe*, Esq. and *Arthur Thomas*, and *Byam Freeman*, Esquires, who, in point of capacity, or other respectable qualities, would have done honour to any country: of their worthy successors, the A. must be silent.

Pa. 20. "These rotten members of society (the *Scottish* fugitive convicts from *Virginia*, he must mean) in time wear out the stains of banishment and disgrace, and amass plentiful fortunes, &c." Whether any *Scottish* convicts were ever transported to *Jamaica*, A. knows not, but he has heard that many *English* were; but of the description of *Scots* alluded to, A. on the faith of an honest man (he never swears by the prostituted term *honour*, which is in the mouth of every gentleman-footman, and every

every *lady-chambermaid*,) declares he never heard of, or knew one, and therefore he cannot say whether they would have amassed fortunes or not, though *English* convicts, in *Jamaica*, certainly did.

Ibid. " Here *England* surpasses the people of *Athens*, (not very correct language) &c."

Young men are fond of exhibiting *all* their talents, and Mr. T. intended to give the reader a specimen of his literary acquirements ; and to do him justice, he certainly had more claim to this kind of merit than nine-tenths of the Naval Officers he ever knew.

But, after all, the passage alluded to is so compleatly nonsensical, as to be below criticism.

Ibid. " *England* finds great riches arising from subjects she had absolutely thrown off and renounced." It is certainly fair and prudent, to make the best of a bad bargain ; and a bad bargain, violators of

Divine and Human laws ever must be to any community, but the *Scotch* of *Antigua* are, at least, out of *this* scrape. Mr. or C. T. is, even here, inaccurate; for a transported convict enjoys all the protection and advantages of *British* laws, as fully as the most virtuous man, provided he obeys those laws: for his exile and temporary servitude, are trivial retributions to public justice. But, from Mr. T's remark, these convicts make as good subjects as any, a proposition which A. cannot contradict, as he never had the honour of the acquaintance of any of those *gentlemen* or *ladies*; but begs leave to remark, that, *Naturam expellas furca, tamen usque recurret*, is a maxim sanctioned by experience; and *use*, they say, is *second nature*, and what is bred in the bone cannot be got out of the flesh; *ad nauseam usque*; is as wide of the subject of rogues, as he is of whores; and he can justly aver, he ever detested both; tho' he has ever considered the latter as necessary evils, especially when *travelled* gentlemen acquire a *penchant* for a damnable vice, (and among others, the *Jamaican* representative of a former convicted *black-smith*

smith) his father was free from that *pen-*
chant at least, and, therefore, he has ever
 approved of the police of several states
 on the continent of *Europe*, in the wise
 toleration and regulation of those unhappy
 women. A. does not know the principles
 of the Patriotic Bill intended by Sir *Willi-*
am Dolben; if it shall render seduction less
 frequent, it may so far be beneficial: but
 there is no danger that it will totally era-
 dicate the breed of w——s.

Experienced females will readily acquit
 an *old* fellow, of being *very* selfish in these
 remarks.

He hopes that, though an obscure indi-
 vidual, Sir *William* will honour him with an
 invitation (he is now perfectly *disengaged*
 every way) to his country seat for a few
 weeks, where by laying their heads toge-
 ther, and A. explaining his principles of a
 Lottery for the benefit of virgins, widows,
 and batchelors, to be met with in the La-
 dy's Magazine for August, a good bill of re-
 gulation (to *abolition*, even of the *slave trade*,
 he objects) may be framed by two men

who seem to have *entered deeply* into the same subject; and were the Prime Minister to lend his aid, so much the better.

Ibid. "These *light gentlemen*;" the transported *Scottish* convicts:—nothing like it, noble Captain,—he sticks to his text with all the pertinacity of a Presbyterian Parson, or a Methodist cobbler; and had he been as zealous in the propagation of truth as he was of falsehood, he would have been an invaluable member of society. But let us see what are the charges against those *light gentlemen*—capital indeed, and A. is afraid, from the tenuity and exility of his critical and altercative power, that the cause will suffer under his management; and heartily wishes his *Creole* friends would advertise a meeting at the LONDON TAVERN, where the subject may be considered with all that deliberation and gravity heretofore employed on the business of the *slave trade*.

Ibid. "Those *light gentlemen* treat us who are come to *defend* their Island by the genteel appellation of aliens and foreigners."

reigners." By the bye, Messrs. the quondam *Scotch* convicts might have had a little more modesty, (but who can hope to meet with this quality in such *scoundrels*? they might as well expect it in Governor *Thicknesse*, or Doctor *Freeman*, the latter a *lousy Scot*, who has visited A.: for this is just as bad as if the kettle were to call the pot black—a—e: Why? are not these fellows themselves aliens and foreigners? and it is to be hoped the legislature of that colony will instantly pass a law to exclude those *ungrateful rascals*, and Jews, (they are worse than *heathens* themselves) from the colony for ever.

Another instance of the ingratitude of those *mushroom gentlemen*, was their making no return to generous strangers, who went on purpose to defend them. Surely it was not sufficient that they contributed more than any other description of *British* subjects towards paying those gallant men for their services: by no means! That individual island had, in the course of between forty and fifty years, expended in accommodating a parcel of *land-crabs*, as
honest

honest Jack Tar, terms a *soldier*, or even that amphibious animal, a *marine*; and in addition to their pay, 140,000*l.* sterling. But why were those lousy pilfering ragga-muffins, many of them (100 of the 60th regiment,) *real* foreigners, *Germans, Dutch, and Swifs*, and the honest sons of *Nep-tune*, the bulwark of their country, totally excluded from the loaves and fishes!—Now for the next charge.—

Pa. 21. “ And have good manners enough to give affronts to every officer under Mr. *Frankland*.” Indeed, Mr. *Thompson*, they were bold fellows, to hazard an encounter with gentlemen of the blade;—who, as men of honour, must have called them out, and so it seems they did.—But

Ibid. “ Still are so happy in their good manners, as never to meet those who have spirit enough to meet them.” If the gasconading fellows had had the smallest spark of shame, they must have blushed as deeply as a virgin of fifty, when a rude fellow drops a *double entendre*, which
she

she *does not* comprehend. Unmannered knaves, to be sure they were; and probably *highlanders*, it was like their mountain breeding; but these gentry are generally more ready to fight than to blush; so they must either have been *Lowland* poltroons or enervated *Creoles*; *These same seraglios are apt to cool a man's courage.*

But to be serious. A. though he had not the honour of Mr. or C. T's acquaintance, was known to many respectable gentlemen of that fleet, and, will be told hereafter, a passenger in the *Anson*, Captain Mann.

With Sir *Charles Middleton*, he had a slight acquaintance, and even ate and drank at that gentleman's expence, though Sir *Charles* never was under A's roof, and yet he has been honoured with more civility and attention by him than by some of those who were his guests, and his patients at the same time. It might be supposed, that A. must have heard of those manifold affronts offered to *respectable* gentlemen (several of them infinitely more so than their Baronet Commander) and consequent calls
of

of honour, from brave men; and it were to be wished that C. T. could have recollected the names of some of those insolent poltroons, who would not fight gentlemen whom they had affronted, and have told us how many bloodless affairs *d' honneur* he himself was engaged in.

But his affronting and affronted antagonists were in *nubibus*, buckram-men in *Kendal-green*, of whom he only dreamed in one of his delirious reveries, when he was ill of a fever and flux; and longing in imagination for the flesh pots of *Egypt*, from which those niggardly *Scots* totally excluded poor Mr. T. and the gentlemen of his rank; *Hinc ille lachrymæ*; the affront, any more than "the *March Beer* at the *Raven*," was not to be borne, by any man who wore a cockade.

Have not even some of those cockaded gentlemen (A. who is a coward by instinct, certainly has) dreaming with his head tolerably full of *Madeira* wine or punch, of real or pretended affronts, found himself, when snug under his *Musquetto* net, as valiant

as

as *Amadis de Gaul*, or *Oroondates*, those renowned knights of romance; but a few hours sleep having dissipated the fumes of the wine, the courageous fit subsided, he ceased to feel bold; and became as *cool* as a cucumber.

Ibid. "Duels are very frequently fought here, out of pistol shot," *Eh bien Monsieur T.* it is to be hoped, for the credit of the Navy, that Mr. T. was not one of the antagonists. That, however, was not always the case; for sometimes the distance was sufficient to do a man's business by assimilating *cold* lead with a *hot* brain.

Here the Captain has also been deficient in historical precision. Wonderful, that A. never heard of such duels, and yet he never did.

It would be the utmost breach of good manners to pass over, in profound silence, Mr. (why not Sir *Thomas*) *Frankland*, before the criticism on this prolific chapter is finally closed, and therefore he shall be treated

treated with all the respect so redoubtable a hero merited.

This doughty Commander carried out a broad pendant, before the commencement of the war in 1756. The first proof of his moderation in command (a tyrant is always a coward) was his refusing his predecessor a passage in the *Advice* he had commanded. This ship, though condemned by the ship carpenters, he nevertheless ordered to *England*, and A. was assured by one of the Lieutenants that had not the weather been the most favourable possible, she must have foundered: so that this man, from mere pique to his predecessor, hazarded the life of three hundred and fifty men, none of whom were not as good men as himself.

A *French* war being expected, he took the whimsical and absurd resolution of not shaving his upper lip till war was declared, in which he was imitated by some of his Officers; so that those gentlemen, for months, resembled so many bloody minded *Hussars* or *Croats*.

But

But that Sir Thomas *Frankland* was not very *bloody minded*, was soon evinced. A more insolent being existed not, and as he had given some offence to General *Thomas*, commander in chief of the *Leeward Islands*; the General, a gentleman who wore a cockade, sent by *Major*, now General *Melville*, an invitation to the doughty Commodore to measure swords with him. Neither a cockade, nor a red or blue coat can confer courage.

Sir *Thomas* declined the invitation, though given in terms of the utmost civility.

Soon after the war broke out; and a flag was sent him, the upper lip was shaved and the *gallant* Admiral, who had formerly made 120,000*l.* by prize money, without firing a gun, thought he might double it by *means of valour not his own*; for there certainly was enough of it among the officers of the fleet under his command, though rather scanty in the commander.

In the mean time some charges of peculation (the destined commander for the
next

next station will not peculate) had been brought forward against Commodore *Pye*; and Sir *Thomas* having openly declared that half the Captains of the Navy were thieves and scoundrels, he, having taken the command *solely* to reform abuses, would reform with a vengeance.

For this purpose he paraded the King's yard daily, picked up every old nail he could find, and sent it to the blacksmith; but he really detected some dirty business, in which his predecessor, and more predecessors, had been concerned; and which reflected very much on their characters as gentlemen, and honest men: but a man may be a *gentleman*, though not an honest man; though an honest man cannot be a *gentleman*, unless he hold a certain rank in society; it is precisely the same with the *Ladies*: a demi-rep of *quality* loses not an atom of her consequence, because she is a w——e; but the worthy wife of a *Bourgeois* with every virtue that can adorn a matron, is, nevertheless *not a gentlewoman*.

Whilst the Admiral was thus anxious for
his

his country's weal, he did not forget his own: he was uniformly an oeconomist, his presents of turtles, turkies, and legs of mutton he converted into cash, and fed on salt beef; he indeed once afforded himself a pig which in its way to *English Harbour* was blasted by a *coup de soleil*.

His meanness and his insolence involved him with the inhabitants; and his officers, adopting his absurd prejudices, were in some measure estranged from those with whom they had been on the most intimate footing. There may be more of worldly wisdom than liberality in those kinds of *corporation* attachments; but A. despising such attachments, continued his intimacy with the gentlemen of the navy. It is to the misunderstanding of this period that Mr. *Thomson* alludes; but the Navy officers, not the inhabitants, were in fault.

A's health requiring a winter in a Northern climate, he had the Admiral and Captain *Mann's* leave to return to *Europe* in the *Anson*. The fleet fell down to St. Kitt's, where A. dined on shore with a
 F large

large company from several ships of war. A petulant Surgeon of one of those ships, heated with wine, talked disrespectfully of the people of *A.* on account of their conduct towards the Admiral. *A.* declared that no man should, with impunity, throw reflections on his best patrons and friends; and a duel would have ensued, had it not been prevented. The Admiral was so offended, that he was on the point of ordering *A.* to quit the King's ship, but was restrained by two circumstances, the fear of offending *A.*'s relation, Dr. *Maxwell*, and also as he hoped to make some use of *A.* on a future occasion: Commodore *Pye* was to be tried, and the Admiral wished to have availed himself of *A.*'s evidence.

He therefore applied indirectly, but was refused; and though *A.* was at the court-martial, he would not give any evidence.

This narrative is introduced to exculpate the inhabitants of *A.* from the charge of inhospitality; for the gentlemen of the Navy, knowing well the folly of this puffed-up man, ought not to have adopted his quarrel,

quarrel, in which he certainly was the aggressor. And the gentlemen of the Navy may be assured, that they will ever find the gentlemen of *Antigua* generous and just, notwithstanding the great provocation they received from Admiral *Frankland*, and his successor, Sir *John Moore*, which steeled the hearts of many against these two Admirals, who having received the kindest and most hospitable treatment from the inhabitants of *Antigua*, repaid them with the blackest ingratitude.

As *Antigua* must be the chief rendezvous of our ships of war, it will ever be the interest of the gentlemen of the Navy to cultivate a good understanding with the inhabitants, and they never can be disappointed of due returns from the most generous and hospitable people on the face of the earth.

So much for the valour and gratitude of certain Admirals, for Q.* in the corner

F 2

was

* On the attack of *Martinico*, by a prudent distribution of the ships against the different batteries, the flag ship of 80 guns

was not fonder of fighting than his predecessor.

Let us now pay our respects to Mr. T. having not yet taken our leave of that gentleman.

Several hints have been thrown out by Mr. T. reflecting on the inhabitants of *Antigua* for want of hospitality towards the Sea Officers.

That is not just, for his relation Dr. Maxwell, Colonel Lefly, Mr. Udney, Mr. Robert Brown, Mr. William Warner, Mr. Farley, Mr. Willock, Mr. Eliot, &c. expended great sums in entertaining them,

But those gentlemen were very inconvenient guests. Carriages and horses must be sent for them, and to carry them back, either to *St. John's* or *English Harbour*;

guns was placed out of harm's way, and in the plan of attack, which appeared in a Magazine, the *Cambridge* was distinguished by a Q.

so

so that each horse and *negroe* servant measured the ground four times each day.

To A. it was peculiarly inconvenient, being a man of business; and he calculates much below the mark, when he says that in the course of three years, partly by the loss of horses destroyed, he expended more than 1000*l.* sterling, in this kind of hospitality.

Two officers on that station, Mr. *Stevenson*, a Surgeon, and Mr. *Laurence*, a Purser, now Naval Officers at *Deal*, he had the satisfaction of snatching from the jaws of death, by removing them from *English Harbour* to his own house, where they remained for many weeks: A. of an independent spirit, more disposed to confer benefits than receive them, might, undoubtedly, have experienced marks of gratitude from poor *Stevenson*, (he never experienced ingratitude from an *Irish* man of any rank, nor from a *West Indian*). Calling upon Mr. *Stevenson*, then residing in *LONDON*, he found his wife in tears, and upon urgent enquiry he found he was

in a sponging house, arrested by his Coal-merchant, for fifty pounds.

A, had not the money, but borrowed it in a manner that reflected no honour on the lender; (and he would sooner have left his family without a morsel of bread than have borrowed it on his own account) but he conceals his name out of respect to the family with which he was connected; for he has long passed That bourne, from whence no traveller returns.

In the management of this business, he became connected with an Attorney*; (these Attornies have often been his bane) Stevenson, grateful to an excess, gave his note for the money, but without interest. After a lapse of some years, A. gently reminded him by a friend; he paid twenty pounds in small sums, and on his death, his ungrateful widow, a native of Newcastle, insisted that the whole had been paid, and

* Let him here except Alderman Clark, Sir William Hillman, and his old friend Mr. Etwall, gentlemen who do honour to the profession.

scorning

scorning to contend with a woman, he never made another demand.

Mr. *Lawrence*, he is persuaded, would have made retribution equal to his expressions of gratitude; but *A.* declined to accept it.

Captain *Hawkins*, the son of a worthy *Irish* Bishop, has evinced his gratitude in the strongest terms, on the supposition that he was indebted to *A.*'s assiduity, more than his skill, for the preservation of his life.

To Sir *John Laforey* he is indebted for many favours, conferred on others, not on himself; and he would embrace any opportunity of evincing his gratitude.

Thus, so far as he has gone, *A.* has endeavoured to balance the account of gratitude; he must reserve a final balance to another publication.

Mr. *T.* seems to be offended that the gentlemen of his rank were not sufficiently noticed by the people of the island. *A.* has

entertained from the Midshipman up to the Admiral, and has even lent money to Midshipmen, from whom he never expected to be reimbursed; and he is sorry he was not acquainted with Mr. T. because he is persuaded he would have been convinced that even the *Scots* did not merit his indiscriminate abuse; and from his ingenuous pen, the *Sailor's Letters* would have been sent to the press in a manner more creditable to himself and his memory.

After this ingenuous and sincere expression of good-will towards the memory of C. T. it is with considerable regret he finds himself obliged by a love of truth, to proceed in his strictures on Mr. T's illiberal censures of a people who, it does not appear, had ever offended him positively; and there are many reasons to be assigned why this class of gentlemen cannot experience that share of attention which they certainly merit.

Pa. 23d. A. passes over Mr. T's remarks on the cistern water being a chief cause

cause of the dangerous illnesses of the seamen; Mr. T. was *not* a physician.

Pa. 25. "The Planters generally allow the slaves a small barren spot of ground, which as soon as they have well tilled, they take to themselves, and give them another." Suffice it to say, that Mr. T. was misinformed.

Pa. 26. Mr. T's information respecting the negroes infected with the Yaws, is equally untrue.

Pa. 29. "From *Barbadoes*," "the cruel tyranny exercised over the slaves is shocking to humanity." A. has been frequently ashore at *Barbadoes*, but is not, like Mr. T., disposed to give a character of a people whom he *does not* know. One worthy and most respectable gentleman, Mr. Jones and his lady, he knew at *Bath*, where the lady was his patient: Mr. Jones stands high at the bar there.

Justice requires that A. should remark, that such managers from *Barbadoes* as have been

been employed at *Antigua*, are very harsh and severe.

The story of the mistress there, who dropped hot sealing-wax on different parts of the body of a female slave, till she expired, may be true: but the law officers of the Crown there, were very deficient in their duty, if they did not make a severe example of *so execrable a wretch*, let her rank be what ever it might.

Had such an act of cruelty been committed in *Antigua*, and had come to A's cognizance, he would have deemed it an indispensable duty to have stood forth the accuser.

Pa. 40. *Tobago*. "There is a fameness in the *creole*, and an equal inhospitality in the country." A. knows nothing of the inhabitants of *Tobago*, except one relation, of whom he has no reason to speak well: *Et genus, et proavos, et quæ non fecimus ipsi, vox ea nostra voco.* A. never considered the circumstances of relation or country, as any reasonable obligation of attachment, *Detur dignissimo,*

dignissimo, has ever been his maxim. If A's friend, *Alexander Willock*, Esq; had been then resident there, where he has a large property; if there had been any merit in the ship, he would have evinced his sense of it: nor would even want of merit have been a bar to his hospitality.

Pa. 49. St. Kitt's. "The *creoles* are a volatile, haughty, ignorant people." To the charge of haughtiness, A. has pleaded guilty, to the charge of ignorance he has demurred.

Pa. 50. "They are fond of dress, pomp, and peagantry, and slaves to all the *cardinal vices*." A's good friends, the *creoles*, are a little ostentatious; and are they singular? No;—Is *John Bull*, with all his bluntness, and plain honesty, an *unostentatious* animal? No:—The celebrated Mr. *Hume*, to whom he with pleasure pays a tribute of gratitude, which he had almost forgot; (he is more mindful of favours than of injuries,) has, in his *Moral and Political Essays*, remarked, that even vanity may be conducive to the comfort of mankind: that

that individuals, not actuated, in the discharge of their duty, by the sublime principles of morality and religion, can find motives out of *Le petit Moral*, which, respecting present appearances, is very convenient for the instant. Thus, an insincere *man* or *woman*, he knows some of both sexes, shall trowel you with flattery, make you promises they never intend to perform; give you a meal; or, when the fit of ostentation is strongly predominant, shall *even* open their purses. It serves the present purpose: Your sensations, if you are destitute of *wordly* wisdom, will dupe you; and when your delirium of gratitude subsides, you are but where you were.

The pleasurable sensations, compared to the painful, are so few, that a man would purchase even on a certainty of deception, *decipi* (not *desipere*) *in loco, prope res est sola*, is always agreeable: enjoy the present moment, let the next provide for itself: had A. adopted this maxim, he should not now, *perhaps*, have been an unhappy man, but retrospection is vain.

Pa.

Pa. 50. "They are slaves to all the *cardinal vices*." A. will not dispute the propriety of the term; verbal criticism is an idle waste of words. But A. supposes Mr. T. intended to imply that the poor *creoles*, GOD help them, destitute of every *cardinal virtue*, must necessarily have substituted the opposite vices, *sed non sequitur*. How many *good sort* of people are there in the world, who have neither a prominent virtue nor vice, in their composition, a kind of insipid neutrals.

Ibid. "The women in general, unhappily cherish a low pride." What kind of women of that country Mr. T. was acquainted with, A. cannot determine; but, supposes they were low *hucksters* at the Point of St. John's, or at *English Harbour*, or *trulls* who ply for the accommodation of the sailors. The women of education in that country are lofty, and, perhaps a little too reserved.

Ibid. "Few are acquainted with good breeding." Had Mr. T. a boy of seventeen or eighteen, had discernment enough
to

to have distinguished in what good breeding consisted, he would, had he ever been admitted to the company of *gentlewomen*, have known that they were well-bred.

Ibid. And more unacquainted with modesty." Of this hereafter.

Pa. 51. "Swearing in a vulgar corrupted dialect at their slaves." These must have been *hucksters* and *trulls*, none else are guilty of such vulgarity. *Noscitur a sociis*: "Tell me," says honest SANCHO PANCHÁ, "the company you keep, and I'll tell you what you are."

Ibid. "I do not mean to *depreciate* the character of those ladies who have their education in *England*:" Nor does A. either, but, without any intention of depreciation: he boldly asserts that he never knew any of those *English* bred ladies, who were in any respect, superior to those "who never wandered farther than the smoke of their own huts," and, as Planters' wives, in general, much inferior.

A. thinks

A. thinks it an act of strict justice to those ladies "who never wandered from the smoke of their own huts," to name a few in the Island of *Antigua*; there may be many more whom he does not now recollect.

His excellent friend, and the patroness of his almost unprotected youth, the late Mrs. *Maxwell*, (she had a most worthy successor in the lady now relict of his relation and friend, the Doctor) his worthy and inestimable mother-in-law, Mrs. *Barter*, Mrs. *Whitford*, Mrs. *Francis Farley*, the first wife of a worthy gentleman; Mrs. *Crawford*, mother of the Colonel. Mrs. *Alexander Willock*, her sister.—Mrs. *Simon Farley*; Mrs. *Trant*, senior, Mrs. *Trant*, junior, the worthy relict of his friend: Mrs. *Nihell*, and Miss *S. Trant*, Mrs. *Patterson*, her sister, Mrs. *Peterson*—and her mother, Mrs. *Dasent*.—Mrs. *E. Horne*, and her sister, Mrs. *Dasent*, Mrs. *Oliver*, mother of the Alderman.—Mrs. *L. Lovell*, Mrs. *Samuel Martin*, Mrs. *Jane Athill*, Mrs. *Jarvis*, lady of the late President; the late Mrs. *Charles Sharpe*.—Mrs. *Munton*, and her sister, Miss *Byam*, Mrs. *Alexander Scott*,

Scott, widow of a man of good abilities: his worthy friend, *Mrs. Nathaniel Marchant*, and *Mrs. Marchant*, wife of the Doctor.—*Mrs. Potter*.—*Mrs. Gordon*, lady of *James Brebner Gordon*, Esq; formerly Chief Judge of *Grenada*.—*Mrs. Russell*, *Mrs. Gilchrist*, her most amiable and accomplished daughter, the late *Mrs. McConnell*, and her sisters.—*Mrs. Young*, the mother of the late *Sir William Young*; *Mrs. Joseph Athill*, and the lady of the late *Admiral Tyrrel*; *Mrs. Richard Manning*, and her daughter, *Mrs. Pearson*. — *Miss Wise*, *Miss Burton*, *Mrs. Rosington*, the *Mrs. Burtons*, mothers of *Rowland Burton*, Esq; Chief Judge, and of *John Burton*, Esq; Counsellor at Law, the late *Mrs. Ailhaud*, senior, *Mrs. Savage*, *Mrs. Walrond*, the mother of *John Burke*, Esq; Attorney-general, *Mrs. Thomas Freeman*.

And why should he not do justice to two women, though last not least in accomplishments, to whom he stood in the most intimate relation, and than whom there did not exist two better women. The latter was well

well known in several counties in *England*; let those who knew her, say whether they found her deficient in the qualifications of a *gentlewoman*.

But was that *snotty-nosed* Midshipman so ignorant, as to conceive that those ladies, because they were not consigned, like ten *hogsheads of sugar*, to a merchant, and placed at a fashionable school in *Queen's-Square*, they were therefore destitute of education: there is now a lady in *London* who assisted her mother, *Mrs. Burton*, in the education of many of the ladies now mentioned, who was better qualified than any of the half-bred women who superintend *English* Boarding Schools; and of whom he never knew but one accomplished gentlewoman, *Mrs. Castlefrank*, though there may be more.

Don John D'ulloo, an officer in the *Spanish* navy, gives the following character of the *Spanish* creoles; and it applies equally to those of the *British* colonies:

“ The women are genteel, lively, sensible,

G

and

and handsome; but are tainted with a haughtiness that will scarce stoop to the will of a husband. They are, however, discreet and affectionate wives;—they are expensive in their dress.—The *whites* of both sexes, have much wit and penetration, and a genius for literature and the mechanic arts, beyond that of any other people.

Pa. 51. "The men carry on intrigues with their lady's slaves, and the less private, the more *degagé* and genteel." When *A.* reviews Mr. *Luffman's* curious Letters, some notice will be taken of this charge.

Does Mr. *T.* mean, that the ladies bred in *England* are to be exempted from this censure? perhaps he does; but why it is not easy to say. Is their chastity in proportion to the supposed superiority of their education? if that is to be the criterion, matrimonial infidelity prevails most among women of fashion, in this country whose education has been of what is deemed of the most polished kind. But *A.* does not allow
that

that their opportunities for acquiring the education commonly bestowed on females, are better in *Britain*, than in *Antigua*.

Ibid. "Women unacquainted with modesty, and intriguing no where more common." But the infamous charge is equally false with respect to either; and were the *Hyæna Thompson* now alive, old as *A.* is, and though he detests duelling; he would follow him to the extremities of the earth, and either make him retract his wanton villainous calumny on his knees; or hazard his life in defence of the reputation of women who are at least as chaste as the mother who bore him. The wretch who traduces the reputation of a woman, is a mean, base, sordid, grovelling, coward and villain. Not only the ladies mentioned above, but many others, were and are women of exemplary virtue; and must not a man be destitute of a spark of liberal sentiment who can bear such insults; not from a boy, but from a man who, not long before he died, commanded one of his Majesty's

ships of war on that station; and, who had he had the least generosity or candour in his nature, would have expunged every offensive and unjust imputation from his second edition.

Mr. JOHN LUFFMAN, as will be seen hereafter, does the women justice in this respect, as does the noble-minded Spaniard, Don John D'Ulloa.

Ibid. " I beg leave to send you a few lines in answer to Mr. *Ulton's* verses, in praise of these people." The product, no doubt, of Mr. *T's* pen, and vile stuff they are, both with respect to the subject and composition. Why does he not spell Mr. *Hulton's* name properly? A. had the pleasure of knowing Mr. *Hulton*, formerly in *Antigua*; and lately, as his patient at *Bath*. To compare a gentleman of Mr. *Hulton's* character with a *Blackguard*; and a generous, liberal, and humane man, with a mean, base, diabolical, malignant, detractor, would be doing Mr. *Hulton* infinite injustice. That gentleman resided in *Antigua*
many

many years, and had much better opportunities of knowing the characters of the inhabitants, than a petulant young Coxcomb, who was cooped up in an hospital, and who had no means of conversing with any *white* women above the degree of a *Punch house-keeper*, a *stopseller*, a *huckster*, or a *bunter*.

R E M A R K S

O N

MR. LUFFMAN'S LETTERS.

C H A P. II.

THE very first remark is not true. The Thermometer never has been from 96 to 102 under cover, nor is the medium heat from 85 to 90. This man's orthographical errors are very numerous; and shew he does not understand his own language. They cannot be typographical, or they would have been corrected. The number of *white* persons is very far short of three thousand; that of the coloured people much less than forty-five thousand.

Pa. 17. Mr. L. has the following extraordinary paragraph.

“ The *Judges* of the Courts are not lawyers, who are frequently dictated to, and even directed by the Barristers, particularly when any cause, &c.”

Now I having been a *Judge* of the courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas, whatever may be the veracity of your *authority*, (*author* you meant, but you often make such slips in grammar) it is not worth a *black dog* (the lowest coin) because it is not sterling, or in point of truth, of currency either. The Barristers know their duty better than to dictate to the Bench. The truth is, the gentlemen of the bar in my time, and I suppose they continue the practice, as I hope I shall find on my return, disdain to involve their cause in legal obscurity: but there is another circumstance which renders the decisions of the Bench rarely deficient in legal precision, which is, that the tenures by which property is held is more simple in the colonies,

colonies, than in the mother country; and where the property contested is considerable, ultimate recourse, after passing the colonial Chancery Court, is had to the *King and Council*: and it is surprising, though the members of the Chancery Court are not lawyers, how few of its decrees have been reversed. The gentleman alluded to, the Hon. *Rowland Burton*, is now Chief Judge, and from my knowledge of him, as a lawyer, I am persuaded, he fills the office with great ability.

Pa. 33. "Women and children, or such of the inhabitants incapable of bearing arms *must* retire to this fortress in case of invasion, houses have been erected, and capacious cisterns formed for the use of such distressed visitors." I was formerly an officer in one of the regiments, and latterly physician to the commander in chief, the colonial troops, and to *Monks Hill*; and yet I never knew there was any *must* in the case; nor are there so many houses as would be sufficient to accommodate even the *garrison*, much less women and children, who would be much safer at
their

their own houses, than in a garrison, subject to bombardment, storm, and all the other evils of a siege.

Pa. 33. You say "That several forts were not, at the end of last war, sold by the legislature at the twentieth part of their cost." It is barely possible; but it is not likely to be true: probably the stones of one or two, which had been injudiciously erected, may have been so disposed of.

Pa. 35. "Ladies wear masks or veils, &c." When A. resided in that country, if a lady met any man to whom she was known, she pulled off her mask in passing, and this was all, Mr. L. that good manners required; but even when she met any white person, though unknown to her, that pulled off his hat to her, she unmasked, and returned a bow: so that the *ladies* you met must have been *hucksters* wives, or some such low-bred cattle, if the allegation is not totally unfounded.

Pa. 36. "Their dress is tawdry." Not a truth, Mr. L. if they were above the rank

rank of *hucksters ladies*. But are there no tawdry *English* women? "Conversation languid, unless when scandal is the topic, it is then voluble and eloquent!" not more so than that of the *gossips* at any tea-table in your own country.

Ibid. "As mistresses of families they are unimportant; the management of their family is left to *Negroes*, and *Mulattoes*." The very reverse, master *L.* and though you make exceptions, there are in proportion more indolent housewives in your own country.

Pa. 40. "Mr. *John Burke*, Speaker of the Assembly, was nearly bereft of the power of utterance when he read the Address of the Legislature to Prince *William Henry*." I presume you was not a member of the Legislature; and therefore was an intruder, if your anecdote be true. The *Speaker*, though a lawyer, is a modest, because he is a sensible man; but he is not to be awed by Princes or Potentates; though he respects them. Had Mr. *L.* been

been the representative of the Assembly, his vulgar ignorant effrontery would have been a strong contrast to Mr. B's modest deference.

Pa. 43. "Managers of estates sport several dishes at their tables, and drink claret by cheating their proprietors." Pray Mr. L. at how many managers' tables did you meet with claret? I believe very few indeed. I was once a manager, but could neither afford claret, nor even always one joint of fresh meat. There are emoluments which they may enjoy without injury to the proprietors; if they exceed they are *knaves*, and such undoubtedly there are, even in your own country, under the denomination of *land stewards*.

Pa. 46. "Managers contribute to stock the plantation with *mulatto* and *missee* slaves; and as soon as they are born they are despised by the author of their being, and by every *white*." You are a *modest* man, Mr. L. or you would have boasted of the share you had in stocking plantations. Probably you was a *married* man,
and

and therefore only stocked in the legal way ; which you intimate few husbands in that country are contented with doing. Now, Sir, I believe (though I will not swear that any husband is guilty of infidelity in that country) that your countrymen are as much suspected of wandering from home as the native *whites*. I know not what you mean by *despising* spurious progeny : I believe they are not much respected by their parents any where ; but parental affection to those children is more frequent in the *West Indies*, than in your country ; and their parents often purchase their freedom, and treat them with great tenderness.

Pa. 51. "The ordinary drink of the men of this place is punch or grog ; claret is the rage at public entertainments and at the houses of principal merchants and planters." People who deviate from truth ought to have good memories. What is become of the *claret-drinking* managers, whom you celebrate in p. 43 ? They are not properly planters.

Pa. 52. "At a tea-drinking party of a dozen ladies and gentlemen, a *negro* man attended with no other covering than an old pair of trowsers, (instead of a pair of old trowsers.") I suspected from your foregoing Remarks, that you kept low company, and, therefore, will not believe you ever dined in the Court House, where gentlemen only are admitted, (unless you was smuggled in by your late patron) and, I am sure, that the gentlemen and ladies you allude to, were either the lowest of the base society of *hucksters*; or *mulatto* or *negro* gentlemen and ladies; for of this rank of respectables, we have there as well as here of all denominations; from the highest order of plebeians, down to the *footman* or *chambermaid*. They are all *honourable* gentlemen and ladies.

Now, Sir, if you had been permitted to thrust your nose into the dining or tea-room of any gentleman, or even of persons *not* gentlemen, in the just sense of the term, you would have found the attendants decently and neatly clad.

Pa. 55. Poultry are not sold so cheap as in *England*, at least I never knew that to be the case, though I resided there twenty-two years, at different periods.

Pa. 70. You give your friend a specimen of your medical skill, but it is stark naught.

Pa. 73. "*Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis.*" I suppose a gentleman of your accurate knowledge in your own language, must understand *Latin*. Now, Mr. John L. there are several of your *Anecdotes*, concerning the said funeral (unless it was that of a Christian *mulatto* or *negroe*,) and I am not quite conversant in *their* funeral ceremonies, as I never attended even as a bearer; which without hesitation, I declare to be untrue, unless the good folks of *Antigua* have relapsed into Barbarism.

The invitation being left to the Sexton, is a novelty; at least I never heard of it. Your witty and humorous description of the *black coats* at the funerals of white persons,

sons, above the rank of the lowest *huckster*, is superior to any thing even the pencil of *Hogarth* ever produced: pity it were not true; I think, however, it would make a very good subject for a print-shop. *John Bull* likes fun: try your hand Mr. L.

Pa. 78. All your information, you say, you have derived from persons of undoubted veracity. I never was on the coast of *Africa*, and therefore cannot contradict your informer; who perhaps never was there any more than myself.

The elaborate and pathetic description of the treatment of the slaves on the *Coast*, shews that you have caught more than "a spark of heaven-born liberty;" and yet I know not how it is, *Englishmen* who go to reside in the *West Indies*, seem to have left the spark behind them, if we may judge by their want of feeling with respect to slaves, for *Europeans* to my certain knowledge, are much severer task-masters than the natives of the country, vulgarly called *Creoles*.

Were

Were I to animadvert on all your blunders in your learned discussions about the cultivation of sugar, treatment of slaves, &c. I should think my pen illy employed; I shall therefore only attend to one or two circumstances. I never heard that either the *picket* or *thumb-screw* were used in *Antigua*, though I will not deny that your good friends the *hucksters*, most of them *Europeans*, and the most abandoned wretches in any society, may not have used them; because I can conceive them to be capable of any act of cruelty.

I sat, as one of the *Judges*, on one of those fellows, an *Englishman*, who had destroyed one of his slaves by the most deliberate and repeated acts of cruelty; and yet fine and imprisonment were all the punishment the laws would permit us to inflict. Shocked at this rare instance of barbarity, and not being a member of the Legislature, I entreated some of the gentlemen of that body, for the sake of humanity, and for the credit of *Great Britain*, to have a law passed to have such crimes

crimes made *capital*. Some attempts were made, but whether the law has been passed, I know not.

Mr. *John Luffman* seems to have the spirit of an *Englishman* in him, for during the short time of his being in *Antigua*, he seems to have indulged all the malignity of party spirit; and to have dealt out his panegyrics and censures with no very great degree of justice or discernment.

His story of *Crim. Con.* is tolerably well told; and he justly acknowledges that such instances are very rare for a more virtuous women than the native whites exist not in any quarter of the world. The author of the *Sailors' Letters* avers the contrary; perhaps the only *white* women he ever saw there were sailor's trulls.

Mr. *L.* might have told another instance of *Crim. Con.* though never discussed in a court of justice; but he shewed his gratitude to his *patron* and *patroness*, by taking no notice of it.

H

But

But it may be asked Mr. L. to what purpose publish so crude a thing as the present, in which there is as much perversion of language as Mrs. Malaprop would have employed; when so many accounts of the *West Indies* are given by men of learning and science.

The old excuse;

*Deficit in crumena pecunia, ideoque—
Indocti scribimus Doctique.*

“ Militia badly disciplined.” What they are now I know not; but in my time they were little inferior to the 38th regiment; even now, I believe they are the best disciplined of any militia in the *West Indies*.

“ There is a tumuli.” There are some *Latin* nouns that have no singular; but this is not one. It ought to be *tumulus*. Why will J. L. expose his ignorance?

“ Forts to be sold to the public, &c.”
So that the public, after selling them as
useless,

useless, re-purchases them as necessary. Excellent! And his friend, the late *President*, one of that public.

"Ladies seen at a distance unmasked; but as soon as they are approached near, on goes the vizer." A. never knew an instance of this.

"They seldom suckle their infants." Too seldom, indeed; hence diseases, especially the *Black Scurvy*, have been conveyed to their progeny.

"Employ from twelve to twenty negroes to vend the produce." Some truth mingled with gross falsehoods.

"To be an Attorney to an estate of a non-resident is better than to be its owner, &c." If Managers and Attornies are all such knaves, Mr. L. scarcely left an honest man behind him.

The remarks on hucksters are just.

Of the prowess of the Humming Bird A. never was informed before, and does not believe a word of it.

Mr. T. insisted that there are no springs of fresh water, Mr. L. owns there are.

Rum or wine never was exchanged for water: if Mr. Gattley had been alive, A. would have suspected it was one of his humms.

No instance known of man or horse being blown down precipices by a hurricane.

“ Overseers, generally poor Scotch lads, who generally become masters of Plantations.” In addition to what has been said before, A. observes, that, upon the most accurate recollection, he does not remember above eight Scots, (and four of them were medical men, one the father of the late Sir William Young) who acquired landed property in that country, in the last seventy years, but none were indented servants except one.

“ Women

A. "Women assume the name of their keepers." If true it is novel.

What he has said about the consequences of the abolition of the *Slave Trade* will be answered hereafter.

A. does not recollect a single Jew ever being an inhabitant of *Antigua*.

Not true **Mr. L.** that General *Parke* was murdered because he discouraged smuggling.

C H A P. III.

ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

The following (but with some late additions) contains ANSWERS to several QUERIES, which were transmitted to the Right Hon. the Committee of His MAJESTY'S COUNCIL, on which the Author was afterwards examined by that RIGHT HON. BOARD.

BEFORE Dr. Adair enters upon the consideration of the *Queries* transmitted to him by Mr. *Burton*, he begs leave to offer some preliminary Observations, not suggested by ostentation or arrogance, but merely to enable the *Right Hon. Board*, by whom the *Queries* were proposed

posed, to determine concerning the credibility of his testimony, and the competency of his judgment, with regard to the facts he advances, and the opinions he forms, respecting the subject of those Queries.

That he has not obtruded himself on this occasion, or officiously interfered on the subject of the *Slave Trade*, unpopular and *invidious* as it is generally deemed, is well known to Mr. *Burton*; for he has only yielded to repeated and urgent solicitation; but having undertaken the task, he will perform it with a degree of candour and impartiality, which could not be exceeded, were it to be sanctioned by the most sacred obligation.

In answering the Queries, he confines himself to the personal knowledge he acquired, during a residence, at different periods, of twenty years at *Antigua*; where, in his professional capacity, he had daily opportunities of observing the treatment and condition of the slaves; and as a Judge of the Supreme Courts, had occa-

sion to remark the degree of protection afforded them by the laws of the colony.

It is well known in that colony that, not only by private suggestions, but by occasional publication, he endeavoured to point out such circumstances, as might render the condition of the slaves more easy and comfortable; and he flatters himself his efforts were not unavailing.

His interest cannot be affected by any determination of the legislature, with respect to the *abolition* or regulation of the *slave trade*; for though he was formerly proprietor of many slaves, he has not for some years been possessed of any property of that kind; and, with much satisfaction he reflects, that, in the transfer of his property, he procured for his quondam servants, the protection of a humane and indulgent master, who has lately gone to meet his reward from a just, yet *merciful*
JUDGE.

As

As some of the *Queries* are complicated, he found it necessary to subdivide them.

AS several of the *Queries* allude to the relative condition of the *free negroes*, and the *slaves*, it may be proper to remark, that in *Antigua*, the proportion of the former, whether born free, or who have obtained freedom by indulgence, or by purchase, is so small, that no decisive estimate can be formed of the superior advantages derived from that circumstance over a state of slavery.

But so far as a limited analogy may tend to establish a general axiom, several of those people emancipated by *Adair* and others, instead of deriving benefit from their new situation, became indolent and worthless, being often detected either in harbouring the runaway slaves, and employing them in their own service; or in giving them encouragement to rob their masters, by becoming the receivers of stolen goods; and yet those people had, by unremitting industry, accumulated the price
of

of their freedom: *Adair* is inclined to believe, therefore, that the emancipated *negroes* do not enjoy any solid advantages over well-disposed and industrious slaves.

Query XI. Are the *Negroes* subject to any peculiar diseases to which *white* inhabitants or free *Negroes* are not subject; and if they are so subject, assign the cause?

Answer. Slaves may be divided into the domestic, the mechanic, and the labourer; the two former are not more unhealthy than the *white* inhabitants; nor are the latter subject to any peculiar disease derived from their occupation, though by labouring nine hours, exposed to the rays of the sun, but much more by other circumstances to be considered hereafter, they are more subject to endemic diseases, than the other slaves, but much less so than seamen, soldiers, or other *white* persons on their first arrival in that climate; owing to the constitutions of the latter not being assimilated to the climate; and therefore a much greater proportion of them fall victims to the endemic diseases. Hence it
may

may be inferred that the mortality in that climate is not so much the result of labour as of situation; for the occupation even of a field slave, is not so severe as that of a day labourer in this country.

Other circumstances, more than mere labour, seem to injure the healths of this description of slaves.

First. Their sudden transition from labour to the almost sedentary employment of collecting grass for the plantation horses, during which time, and by being unnecessarily detained afterwards for the purpose of being mustered, they are exposed to the noxious night dews.

Secondly. Their frequent migrations after work to other plantations, often very distant, for the purpose either of merry-making, or of visiting their husbands or wives, so that the greatest part of the night is often consumed in travelling from and to their master's estates.

Thirdly.

Thirdly. The scantiness, and sometimes the bad quality of their food, for though industrious slaves have generally so many other resources as (independant of their weekly allowance) to procure them, not only the necessaries, but even (to them) the luxuries of life; yet it too frequently happens, that in the distribution of provision, a proper distinction is not made between them and the indolent and thriftless; so that the latter, by their improvidence are rendered worthless, and even noxious, by habits of depredation.

But in barren souls, and during long droughts, when the grounds allotted to each slave, are not productive, even the industrious slave may suffer, when a proper compensation is not made by an increase of the weekly allowance; and by giving them foods nutritive and invigorating in proportion to their labour.

Though this distress may undoubtedly sometimes be owing to inattention or ill-judged parsimony, yet it more frequently proceeds from real inability to apply an adequate

adequate remedy, from the scarcity or bad quality of imported provisions.

During *Adair's* last residence in *Antigua*, from 1777 to 1783, a series of dry weather having almost totally suppressed the growth of the indigenous vegetables, the supplies from the Mother country being precarious, the quality of the provision imported from thence being sometimes bad, and our intercourse with the Northern colonies being interrupted: these concurring circumstances probably produced, but certainly exasperated, a very severe and fatal epidemic which prevailed at that period.

Though these local, accidental evils might perhaps in some instances have been alleviated by due attention and foresight; yet it was totally impossible to obviate them entirely, the concurring causes being inevitable.

Under the influence of these causes, *Antigua*, and (*Adair* believes) other of the *British* islands, sustained an immense loss

loss of slaves, during the *American* war, and such may hereafter be their fate, if during a series of dry seasons their supplies of provision from the Northern colonies should be irregular, scanty, or intercepted.

Query XII. What care is taken of the slaves in sickness? Are there any laws or regulations for that purpose? What provision is made for them when old or disabled?

First. A medical man is employed to prescribe for the sick, and one or more aged female slaves to attend them.

Secondly. There are no laws or regulations for this purpose: nor is it likely any laws could be framed to enforce the performance of this and similar duties, with due effect, should the master resist the united motives of humanity and self-interest.

When the proprietor resides upon the plantation, his interest must (independent of other motives) be a powerful incentive to

to attend to, and supply, the wants of his sick slaves. It is probable, however, that in the absence of the master, the manager may not always be sufficiently attentive to this very essential part of his duty; but if the medical man interposes as he ought, no very gross neglects or abuses in this respect can be committed; and *Adair* verily believes, that the sick slaves in general, enjoy more comforts and better accommodation than the indigent sick in any country in Europe. But it is not in this respect only that the medical man may be of essential service. Knowing professionally as he ought, "*Quid natura faciat, aut ferat,*" he is peculiarly qualified to point out the quantity and quality of the nourishment necessary for the slaves, even in health, according to the nature of the seasons, and the degree of their labour.

Thirdly. *Adair* believes there is a law to oblige the proprietor to provide for his aged and disabled slaves, to prevent their being a burthen to the public; because in the only instance he recollects, the evil was remedied by the interposition of a magistrate.

magistrate. The offender a *Priest*, though not a *Divine*.—*Tantumne religio poterit suadere malorum?* But this is not the first instance of the cruelty of *Priests* to their slaves: two of those men now no more, were natives of *Wales*.

He suspects, however, that the weekly allowance allotted them from the plantation may often be scanty; though this deficiency is, he believes, made up by the kindness of their relatives; at least he does not recollect an instance of any slave of this description being exposed to want.

Query XIII. What is the general period of their lives? Is it of equal duration with that of *white* inhabitants or free *Negroes*?

Answer. I. The age of *Negroes* cannot be ascertained; but so far as appearances may be relied on, a considerable portion of the slaves seem to attain old age.

Secondly. Hot climates do not seem to be favourable to longevity; but this circumstance

cumstance affects the *white* inhabitants and free *Negroes* equally with the slaves; nor does *Adair*, so far as his recollection serves him, believe that the labour of the latter tends to abridge the term of their lives in any considerable degree.

Query XV. Can any causes be assigned which impede the natural increase of *Negroes* slaves?

Answer. Several causes may be assigned.

First. The enervating heat of the climate which disposes to abortion.

Secondly. The practice of polygamy.

Thirdly. The incontinence of the female slaves. The very early, premature, and debilitating commerce of the sexes, and the frequent attempts to procure abortion in the younger females, with a view of preserving their persons longer in request, and thereby inducing sterility.

I

Fourthly.

Fourthly. The indolence of the pregnant females during the last months of gestation. The excessive indulgence of both sexes in the use of spirituous liquors and tobacco, the men particularly, by which they are much enervated.

Fifthly. The general practice of suckling their children to the end of the second, and even the third year, a practice perhaps founded in custom, but more probably adopted by the mothers, to protract the period of indulgence granted them on account of the necessary attention to their infants.

Sixthly. The injudicious choice frequently made in the purchase of *African* slaves, by preferring adult males which always constitute a considerable proportion of the number imported, for the purpose of deriving immediate advantage from their labour: but these adults being habituated to indolence in their native country, to which they are more attached than the younger slaves, often become sullen and refractory in their new situation,

tion, and either elope, or gradually decline in spirit and health; and when seized with disease are apt to neglect or reject the means of relief.

But when young slaves (and a considerable proportion of them females) are purchased, though some years elapse before the planter can have the benefit of their labour; he is, in the event, amply repaid by the necessity for annual supplies being much lessened.

It has been confidently asserted, that the planters use the most inhuman expedients not only to prevent their female slaves from breeding, but even to destroy the infant progeny; because it is more profitable to purchase slaves fit for labour, than to rear the infants.

This, like many other allegations against the *West India* planters, is an imputation equally false and malignant; for one slave born or reared in the colony, is equal in value to two of the same age imported, (mere infants excepted); and so conscious

are planters of this truth, that the value of a female slave is always enhanced by the number of her children.

Particular instances have been adduced to prove that an increase of slaves must always be the consequence of mild treatment, and from thence a general, but false inference, has been drawn, that the annual diminution of the whole number of slaves must be *solely* owing to the combined causes of hard labour, scanty fare, and harsh treatment.

Adair admits that there may have been instances of a loss of slaves sustained by either, or all these causes; but, so far as his observation has extended, he avers it to be his firm belief, that the instances are much fewer than have been alledged.

Adair has been informed that, in some plantations, there has been an annual increase of slaves without purchase of *African negroes*; but this rare circumstance has not been attributed to the proper

proper causes which he will endeavour to assign.

First. The judicious choice of *African* slaves at the original settlement of the plantation.

Secondly. The practice of some provident and wealthy planters, of purchasing either native or seasoned slaves, of which frequent opportunities occur, either when they are publicly sold under execution for debt, or on other occasions, and if these accidental additions are not brought into the account, as they seldom or ever are, the computation is fallacious; but granting that no such additions have been made, A. from his very extensive experience, avers, that the instances of such annual increase, without purchase, must be exceedingly rare.

Thirdly. But the chief cause of this annual increase, in particular plantations, is that in every colony, there are situations which are more healthy, the soil more loose and productive, and consequently

under these circumstances, the slaves are more healthy, their employment less laborious, and their provision more ample.

Mr. Kerby, a member of his Majesty's Council of *Antigua*, has two plantations in different quarters of the island. The slaves are fed, clothed, and accommodated in the same manner; nor is the proportion of their labour remarkably different; yet on one estate the women are very prolific, on the other few breed: What is the reason of this? The *unfavourable* situation of one plantation compared with the other; and as a proof that it is so, he exchanged a certain number of breeding females. The quondam prolific became barren, the quondam barren prolific.

That the constitutions of both sexes are affected by situation, there is no doubt: some Philosophers have gone so far as to assert that morals and manners are under the influence of climate. Certain it is, however, that an unhealthy situation will be unfavourable, in both sexes, to propagation;

gation; and it requires little philosophical sagacity to know that there is an intimate connexion between general constitutional vigour and the faculty of propagating our kind.

In general, however, there is an annual decrease of the slaves, which, though no accurate calculation has been made, may be estimated at $1\frac{1}{2}$ or 2 *per cent.* and in some unhealthy plantations, it is perhaps double; but that this decrease ought not to be attributed to hard labour and harsh usage is evident; because in unhealthy plantations the mortality of *whites* keep pace with that of the slaves; and also from a consideration of the following circumstances.

Sir John Pringle, in his *Treatise on Army Diseases*, has calculated that the annual loss in our armies in *Flanders* (besides those men who were killed, and died of their wounds) was 1 to 17; but of the regiments sent to the *West Indies*, and the seamen stationed there in ships of war, the loss is certainly much greater; and even of

those persons who go to reside in a civil capacity, a very considerable proportion die annually *.

No regulation which can be adopted, will diminish the ordinary loss of slaves to any considerable degree; but what can be said to the immense mortality, which in the course of six years, swept off several thousands of slaves? Should such another visitation of Providence take place under an *abolition* of the *Slave Trade*, how is this loss to be repaired, even admitting *what is not true*; that good usage must produce an annual increase? For reasons given in another place, the consequences must ruin the planter, and extremely injure the interest of the Empire.

It is said, that Mr. *Wilberforce* (whose motives *A.* doubts not are pure and pa-

* Lord Kaims in his *History of Man*, asserts, that in *Jamaica*, the annual decrease of slaves is 7 per cent. but he must have been misinformed.

triotic) has brought forward an estimate of the *per centage* loss of slaves from the time of their arrival in the harbour 'till they are landed. A. is told, that formerly in *Jamaica*, the slaves were sold on board the ship, (a most absurd practice) but in the *Leeward Islands*, they are landed as soon as possible; and no loss is sustained by delay.

Adair deems it his duty to vindicate the native *white* or *creolian* inhabitants from an aspersions that is as cruel, as it is unjust, viz. "That they are peculiarly harsh to their slaves." *Adair*, from long experience, solemnly avers, that they are much more kind and indulgent to them than the *British*, *Irish*, and *North American* proprietors and managers, (*Adair* is a Briton) who sometimes afford lamentable proofs of their departure from the principles of Liberty, and the dictates of Humanity; on which the constitution of their *Mother Country* has been so judiciously framed, as to exhibit to a neighbouring *Nation* now nobly struggling for its natural and unalienable rights, the only good model of a free

free government to be met with on the face of the globe; but our neighbours, by leaning too much to a *Democracy*, may possibly be paving the way for utter *Anarchy*, on the one hand, or *Despotism* on the other.

This charge against the *Creolians*, has been countenanced by an artful insinuation, that they inherit a spirit of rapine and cruelty from *Buccaneers* and *Convicts*, their predecessors.

Unjust and malignant as the inference is with respect to any of our *West India* islands, the fact is only applicable to our *quondam* possessions in *North America*, and to one only of our sugar colonies, the importation of convicts into the *Leeward Islands* having been effectually prevented by law.

Query XVI. Are many children born of *Negro* slaves, and in what proportion are they reared?

Answer.

Answer. Though some female slaves are sufficiently prolific, yet reasons are assigned under the preceding *Query*, why they are not generally so.

No calculation has been made of the proportion reared, but it is certainly much less than of *white* children, for a reason to be given under the next *Query*.

One cause of the mortality of young slaves is the inattention of the mother, whose natural affection for her offspring does not seem in general to be so ardent as that of *white* women.

Another cause is, that in some plantations the mothers are not allowed a sufficient proportion of provision for their children, and therefore, deeming them an incumbrance, they are less solicitous about their preservation. But this evil has of late years been less frequent than formerly; and in well regulated plantations, the children of careless mothers are daily fed under the eye of the mistress.

Query

Query XVII. Are the children of *Negroes* slaves subject to any diseases, to which the children of the *whites*, or free *Negroes*, are not equally subject, and if they are, to what causes is it to be imputed?

Answer. There is a disease to which the infants of free *Negroes* and slaves are equally subject, but from which, so far as *Adair* recollects, *white* infants are totally exempted.

This disease technically termed *tetanus* or *trismus*, and vulgarly the *locked jaw*, or *jaw fall*, seizes the infant within the period of eight or nine days after birth, and is almost always fatal.

It is supposed to proceed from exposure to cold; but from the superintending care of the mistresses of some plantations, the disease is become less frequent.

Query XXX. Is there any period at which the increased labour of the *Negro* produces any effects on the health of the *Negro*,

Negroes, and at what time of the year is the labour increased?

Answer. During the seasons in which the sugar is manufactured, the labour of the slaves is very light, as they are chiefly employed in cutting down the sugar cane, planting the ground, and in manufacturing the sugar, their diseases are few, and they evidently acquire flesh and strength*.

This is partly owing to the season being naturally more healthy, and partly owing to the immense quantity of cane juice they consume, and of sugar, which they purloin.

This harvest season generally commences in *February* or *March*, and ends in *July*

* Lord Kaimes, asserts that the steams of boiling sugar are noxious: that they are not so, the healthy state of the *Negroes*, during crop is a proof.

It may be worthy of remark, that since the use of sugar has been so general in Europe, malignant epidemic diseases have been less frequent and fatal.

or

or *August*, though when the crops are large, or the plantation is deficient in the number of working slaves, it continues longer.

From *September* to *January* the endemic diseases are more frequent and violent, and the state of the weather is more operative in the propagation of epidemic diseases.

During these months the employment of the slaves is much more laborious, being that of ploughing the land, and preparing it for the reception of the cane plant.

Adair has always been of opinion, and has taken every opportunity of declaring it, that at this period, the quantity * of pro-

* *Mr. Tobin*, a very respectable Planter of the island of *Nevis*, having perused these *Answers*, assured *A.* that in *Nevis*, at this time of the year, the allowance is increased, at least one-third, and that in the estates he possessed or superintended, each labouring slave, after harvest, was allowed for breakfast, a Sea Biscuit mixed with Molasses.

vision should not only be much increased, but that it should be of a more nutritive kind, for the purpose of sustaining them against the injurious effects of hard labour, and an unhealthy season.

Query XXXII. Could an *European* constitution subsist in such a climate under the labour necessary for cultivating a *West India* plantation?

Answer. The Replies to *Query XI.* and *XV.* shew what *Adair's* opinion is upon this head, and he does not hesitate to declare it to be his firm belief, that *European* constitutions could not subsist in such a climate, under the labour necessary for cultivating a *West India* plantation, so as to render it beneficial to the proprietor as a means of subsistence, or to the public as an object of commerce and revenue.

GENERAL

GENERAL REMARKS

ON THE

QUERIES.

CHAP. IV.

“ Mais comme tous les hommes naissent égaux, il faut dire que l’esclavage est contre la nature, quoique dans certains pays il soit fondé sur une raison naturelle; Et il faut bien distinguer ces pays d’avec ceux où les raisons naturelles memes le rejettent, comme les pays d’Europe, où il a été si heureusement aboli.”

MONTESQUIEU, *Esprit des Loix.*

HAVING been explicit and impartial in his *Answers* to such of the *Queries* as were transmitted to him; *Adair* flatters himself that it will not be deemed impertinent,

ment, if he offers a few cursory Remarks on a subject which has engaged the attention of the public, and has already occupied the serious attention of the legislature.

Though slavery has in some shape or other, been countenanced by almost every nation of the world, and even subsisted under the *Jewish Theocracy*, *Adair* does not presume to defend, or even to palliate the species of traffick which has been carried on between *Africa* and *America*; but begs leave to observe that the present generation of our *West India* planters is not responsible for the consequences, provided they use all means in their power to render the situation of those poor people as comfortable as possible.

Holding either by inheritance or by purchase (under the sanction of *British Acts of Parliament*) a property in slaves, it is worthy of impartial enquiry how their interests will be affected either by the immediate emancipation of all the slaves in

the *British Colonies*, the regulation of the *Slave Trade*, or a total abolition of it,

First. There are so many unanswerable objections to immediate and total emancipation, that it would be an affront to any man of common sense to attempt to detail them.

Secondly. What will be the consequences of restraining the *British Merchant* from importing slaves into our colonies?

Unless we could restrain other *European* nations from supplying our islands with *African* slaves, which is not practicable: we should subject them to the additional expence of purchasing them at a much higher rate and expence, which added to the other charges and taxes, *already almost insupportable*, must soon totally put a stop to the culture of sugar in our colonies.

But admitting the possibility of restraining

ing the planter from importing slaves in any manner whatever, the ruin of the colonies will be sooner effected, and the sugar trade more speedily transferred to other nations.

Sugar, now become almost a necessary of life, especially in this kingdom, must be purchased from other nations, and as slaves must be employed in its culture, the slave trade though transferred, will not be diminished, and (without considering the national loss of a most lucrative commerce) it becomes a question in morals, whether we shall be in a degree less culpable in abetting slavery indirectly by purchasing the fruits of it from foreigners, rather than from our own subjects; for in the code of moral as well as municipal law, the accessory is as criminal as the principal.

But (exclaim enthusiasts) "*Fiat justitia ruat cælum*:" This infamous traffic (say they) must be abolished, as it is inconsistent with our duty as Christians, and totally incompatible with the genius of the

British constitution founded on the purest principles of liberty and justice.

First. With respect to the imputation it is supposed to throw——on our national morals and religion, it appears from the *Old Testament*, that whilst GOD himself condescended to be the immediate legislator of his chosen people, bondage (slavery) was not prohibited by the Divine Law giver, nor even under the Christian dispensation do we find that *Christ*, or the *Apostles* directly disapproved of it.

Adair, however, wishes that such a traffic had never been established; not only because it militates against the natural rights of mankind; but as it has been a principal incentive to that rage of colonization, and of universal commerce, which has produced an excessive commercial jealousy, and such confidence in our national resources, as to involve us in wars, for near a century, not only with our *European* rivals, but lately with our quondam *American* subjects, inasmuch, that at this instant we derive from
our

our sugar colonies almost the only resource against national bankruptcy.

Hence it is, that the *Slave Trade*, sanctioned as it has been (at least indirectly) by the laws of this country, has become one of the most important political subjects that has ever been agitated in this kingdom.

It has, however, been shewn above, that even a dereliction on our part of the benefits resulting from this commerce would not avail, unless we could persuade other nations to follow our example.

With regard to the incompatibility of this traffic with the principles of our Government, it has perhaps justly been asserted, that no Government, even the best, is uniformly administered according to the principles of justice and humanity.

Is the impressed seaman much less a slave than the *African*? or is the soldier, subjected to the rigour of severe discipline

pline a freeman, in the just sense of the word: The truth is, that the obligation of public justice must often be violated, in consideration of public necessity; and in this point of view only, can the continuance of the *Slave Trade*, be admissible.

It may not be unworthy of consideration, what impression the present clamour may make on the the slaves in our sugar colonies.

Their great superiority in point of numbers: and an idea that the majority of this country is favourable to their emancipation, may produce a general revolt; which would be attended with most ruinous consequences, not only to the colonies, but to the mother country.

Thirdly. Should the legislature in its wisdom, deem an absolute restraint of future importation to be an impolitic measure, some regulations might be suggested which would render the future condition of the slaves more easy and comfortable; for

for though *Adair* firmly believes, that *even now*, their condition is more eligible in every just point of view, than that of the lower ranks in Europe; yet it cannot be denied that it may be meliorated by expedients which instead of injuring, would eventually promote the real interest of the planter.

Adair thinks it will not be from the purpose to offer a few observations on the condition of the *African* slaves before and after they become the property of the *West India* planter,

First. Having never visited the coast of *Africa*, he could only derive his information from Books of Travels, or occasional information,

From these sources he has learned that the countries from whence the slaves are imported, consist of small despotic monarchies, which on various pretences, are frequently engaged in war.

It

It is generally admitted that many of our slaves have been prisoners of war, who formerly having been sacrificed to personal or political resentment, have, since the intercourse with Europeans, been preserved as lucrative objects of commerce.

It is generally understood that the Prince of each territory being absolute master of the lives and properties of his subjects, often avails himself of his despotic power in selling them to European traders.

Secondly. Dreadful, and indeed, *improbable* stories have been told of the cruelty of the Captains of the *African* ships respecting the treatment of the slaves during their passage to the *West Indies*; but without entertaining a very high opinion of this rugged race of men, it is evidently their interest to bring their slaves in a good condition to market, because they are often, if not always, interested as proprietors; so that the testimony of those persons who have detailed stories of wanton or deliberate cruelty exercised

exercised upon the slaves, seldom merits any credit; for when the slaves arrive in the *West Indies*, unless an epidemic has prevailed in the ship, they generally go ashore hale, lusty, and in good spirits.

Thirdly. It will be expected that *Adair* should be more explicit on the subject of their treatment, after they become the property of the planter.

The love of power is said to be a ruling passion in the mind of man; and the history of mankind affords ample proofs, that in the exercise of unlimited power, he is too apt to exceed the bounds of justice and humanity; and therefore it would be uncandid absolutely to deny the stories that have been tolerably authenticated, respecting the harsh treatment of individual slaves, though probably much exaggerated.

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But

But it is so far from being matter of surprise, that some instances of wanton and deliberate cruelty have been brought forward on tolerable authority, that it is really surprising they have not occurred more frequently in our *West India* Colonies. But do none such occur even in this country?

Without attributing to the *West India* planter a larger proportion of the social virtues than he really possesses, or venturing to enquire into his *real* motives when he *seems* to exercise those virtues towards his Negro servants, he is at least actuated by one powerful incentive, the consideration of his own interest.

Slaves are a very valuable, but a very precarious property; and those who are imported from *Africa* require, for several months after their importation, assiduous attention and great indulgence.

Even

On their arrival at the plantation, they are generally committed to the care of an experienced slave of their own country, and are for a considerable time exempted from any duty that can be deemed laborious.

Even after they enter on their occupations, much care is necessary to reconcile them, by the gentlest means, to their new situation.

Their food in their native country being chiefly vegetable, it is so likewise in the Colonies, with an addition generally of a small portion of salt fish. In many plantations they have a daily or weekly allowance; in some they neither expect nor require it. In all, each family has a portion of land, which they cultivate in provision to provide for their own use; and the industrious, moreover, rear goats, hogs,

and poultry, so that many of them become (comparatively) wealthy.

Sunday they employ as they think proper; and, except during the harvest, they are generally allowed half a day beside in every week, to cultivate their grounds, or carry their produce to market. At Christmas they have three days vacation, and a portion of salt beef and flour. The clothing allowed by the master is but slight, though sufficient for the climate; but the industrious, not contented with this, often supply themselves very amply with finery, of which they, the women especially, are very fond.

They often amuse themselves with singing and dancing, and from the cheerfulness of their demeanour, there is no reason to suppose they consider bondage as a great evil.

Many

Many of them have, of late years, been converted and baptized by the Methodist and Moravian preachers, and seem to be very zealous and devout.

If a slave manifests good dispositions, he is encouraged, if not rewarded; otherwise he is punished; but a prudent planter never punishes a slave with such severity as to excite incurable disgust, or incorrigible obstinacy, well knowing that he himself must eventually be the sufferer.

It has however happened, that proprietors of harsh or capricious tempers, mistaking or neglecting their true interests, and brutal overseers, disregarding the interest of their employer, have occasionally exercised much severity towards the slaves. But are there no cruel fathers, husbands, and masters, in this country of liberty? It is to be feared that too many adventurers of this complexion have crossed the *At-*
lantic

lantic, where they have gratified their *penchant* at the expence of the poor unresisting slave.

It has been asserted that the discipline of a *West India* plantation is founded on a uniform system of tyranny; but *Adair* ventures to assert, that the discipline is not more rigid than that of *European* navies and armies, and in several instances not so much so.

A *West India* plantation may justly be deemed one great family, and the government of it consequently PATRIARCHAL; therefore such offences as in their nature or magnitude do not come under the cognizance of the Civil Magistrate, are necessarily punished by the master, or those to whom he delegates his power.

The great disparity in point of numbers between the white inhabitants and the slaves,

slaves, probably, suggested to the first settlers the necessity of rigid discipline, as their only security against insurrection, being then destitute of military protection.

But during *Adair's* residence in the *West Indies*, which commenced forty-two years ago, the discipline has been considerably relaxed; and the particular instances of harsh treatment have been much less frequent.

With respect to the distribution of public justice, *Adair*, not only as a Provincial Magistrate, but as one of the Judges, had occasion to remark, that their public offences were punished with lenity, and their personal injuries with rigid impartiality; though he was always of opinion that the punishment of a White person for the murder of a slave should be capital; whereas, by the law of *Antigua*, it is only fine and imprisonment.

But

But, notwithstanding the facts and arguments adduced in the preceding pages, it may be said, that the testimonies of persons who have resided in the *West India Islands* manifest the abuses of slavery, and the public voice demands an abolition of it.

As the conduct of men in similar situations is nearly the same, *Adair* cannot comprehend the probability of acts of cruelty being frequently committed in one island, which were unknown in another; and therefore does not hesitate to declare it to be his firm belief, that some of the supposed facts are incredible, and others exaggerated; and there are very substantial reasons for suspecting that some of the relators have been actuated by disappointment, disgust, or the lust of popular applause.

C H A P. V.

MORAL *and* POLITICAL CHARACTER *of the*
AFRICANS.

AS a wise legislator adapts his laws to the disposition of those he governs; so a *West India* planter ought to study the general and personal character of his slaves, that he may be better qualified to superintend and direct them.

The petty governments in *Africa*, from whence our slaves are imported, are so different in their nature and form, that I am warranted in supposing they derive a part of their character from their political situation: Hence some of them are fierce and refractory, others timid and servile; some open, candid, and generous, others sly, artful, and selfish; nor does the state of slavery to which they are reduced seem to obliterate, or much weaken, even in their offspring, their original character.

Writers, who treat of the nature of man, agree pretty generally in opinion, that there is a certain national character, impressed by the nature of the climate, government, and other causes; hence an *Englishman* cherishes the idea, that an insipid uniformity of character obtains among our lively, trifling neighbours, the *French*, the consequence of their being subjects of an arbitrary government;* and, on the other hand, that the great diversity of the *British* character is the necessary result of freedom and independence.

Though there may be certain prominent traits of national character, produced by the united operation of various causes; yet we shall find that there is, in every person, an indelible constitutional character and propensity, which no circumstances or situation

* This was written many years ago. The *French* are upon the point of emancipating themselves from tyranny. Every friend of mankind will sincerely hope that no injudicious measures may throw them into a worse state.

can totally eradicate. Were we to assign any general cause capable of weakening, perverting, or totally annihilating, this individual character; we should suppose a state of slavery to be the most likely of all others; but the condition of a *West Indian* negroe is, in every respect, so much more eligible than that of a *Spartan* belot, or a *Russian* boor, that I find many exceptions to the following sketch of their general character.

Their predominant propensities seem to be indolence, cunning, intemperance, vanity, and superstition: I shall offer a few remarks on each of these.

INDOLENCE. This is partly the effect of the climate, which relaxes and enervates the body; insomuch that a day-labourer in the northern parts of *Europe* will do as much work as three able negroes in *Antigua*.

But even where their duty is not laborious, they are very much disposed to be idle; hence it is that twenty house slaves

hour of going, and returning in a very short space of time, and the fatigue of the

shall not perform more service than four white servants in *England*.

But this their extreme aversion to labour

most frequently arises from selfish motives; for they are often sufficiently active and persevering in their own concerns.

For though the *Africans*, like the *American*

Indians, are very indolent in general, there are certain motives which always rouse

them to the most powerful exertions. The prospect of a dance, however distant the

place of meeting, is a never-failing incentive. Thus, though fatigued by the labour

of the day, they will set out in the evening to go many miles to a dance, and hazard a

severe punishment, by delaying their return from this bewitching amusement so long as

not to be in the field in time.

The consequences are often terrible. Afraid of punishment, they desert, and, from

habit, become worthless runaways.

If they do return to their labour, the exercise through the night, added to the la-

bour

hour of going and returning in a very short space of time, and the fatigue of the day's labour they immediately enter upon, throws them into fevers; but more frequently into inflammatory coughs, which are produced and exasperated by the unwholesome night air, and which often end in consumption.

But even supposing they escape immediate disease, their constitutions are worn down, and they sink insensibly into the grave, without any malady which can be ascertained: for a negroe, bent upon pleasure, if able to *crawl* to the rendezvous, will, night after night, pursue the destructive practice, till taken ill in the plantation they have gone to, remote from their own, they are neglected, and the first account a master has of a valuable slave often is, that he or she have died in a distant estate.

Another inducement to night-walking is to visit a husband or a wife. This task, as in all savage nations, generally falls on the wife, who is the slave of the husband.

She if they do return to their labour, the exercise through the night, added to the labour

She prepares some food for this husband, which she carries with her; and, if she has a young family, the youngest she carries on her back; the rest are left at home, neglected, as being destitute of the mother's care, and are often injured by those accidents to which infancy is subject.

The infant at the breast often partakes of the effects of the mother's fatigue, and loss of sleep; her milk is vitiated, the infant becomes diseased, and falls a sacrifice to the irregularity of the mother.

Another cause of nocturnal excursion is the love of plunder.

A negroe seldom steals canes or other vegetables in his own plantation; he invades his neighbour.

The art with which they plan their predatory excursions, and the patience and perseverance with which they execute them, is astonishing.

There

There are watchmen placed over each cane-field that is of forward growth, and near the mansion house and sugar works. They are the stoutest and most trusty of the slaves; and if any mischief is done, being responsible, they are not only very vigilant, but sometimes destroy the culprit in the act of depredation, or even when they only suspect them.

Their offensive arms are generally a cutlas, rarely a musquet.

If the watchman has a spark of humanity in his heart, he generally takes the robber prisoner, with his plunder, confines him, and presents him to the master or manager next morning. He is sent to his plantation, if he does (which they do not always) confess to whom he belongs, otherwise he is sent to the common jail, and advertised; this is generally the case with such as, being just imported, really know not to whom they belong.

The master or manager generally attends the master of the culprit, or writes to him

to intercede for him. His own watchman ought to be commended and rewarded for his humanity. When *A.* was a manager, he generally made a present to his own watchman, and also to his neighbour's watchman, beside what the law allows, if in apprehending the runaway slaves they treated them with lenity. This had a good effect.*

A. will

* The slaves natives of *Africa*, like all other barbarous nations, are cruel in the extreme; and even the negroes who are natives of *America*, from the uncultivated state of their minds, retain much of the savage ferocity. Many of the planters were so short sighted as to resist with all their influence the conversion of their slaves to *Christianity*. The author always saw this matter in a different point of view; and he will venture to predict, for reasons that need not be assigned, that the future security of their lives and properties depends upon their slaves being all *Christians*. For this purpose, after baptizing all those of every age, who are not already *Christians*, it ought to be an established rule in future, to baptize them within a month after the birth, and with all necessary solemnity, in the parish church, without fee or reward. The fordid practice of the *priests* (for they do not merit the epithet of *divines*) in wringing a dollar from each of the candidates for *Christianity*, is unpardonable; and as the author intends to spend the remainder of his life in that country, he will take effectual means to abolish the base practice. The infant ought to have sponsors, and should be taught to read;

but

A. will point out the means which, when a manager, he used to obviate these dreadful evils.

If he found a good slave late in the field, he either turned aside when he saw the culprit coming,

but *few to write*. One or two of the most intelligent should be appointed school-mistresses, and the nurses are the fittest for this purpose, as they have, in general, too much leisure time. For the labourers and mechanics, the evening after they have finished labour will be the best time, and the boiling-house the best place of rendezvous. One white overseer, and all, except infants, ought to attend, even the white family; the meeting should be opened and closed with a short prayer, and one chapter out of the scripture. The roll or list ought to be called over. These meetings will in some measure prevent night walking. The best informed scholars should teach the rest, and the mothers their infants. *Polygamy*, or even marriages in distant plantations, should be discouraged as much as possible; and adultery, even with white men, upon due conviction, severely punished. No young persons ought to be permitted to marry, unless they have a certificate from the master or manager, not only of their being able to read, but of their good behaviour in general. And adulterers ought never to be permitted to marry again. Barbarous nations are not very nice about the virginity of their future wives; the Christian doctrine will correct this idea: Young people ought to be married at 15, the progeny of more early marriages, even in hot climates, generally want stamina. The candidate for matrimony should have previously built him-

self

coming, and took no notice of it, or gave him a gentle reproof. It required no degree even of medical sagacity to know, from the haggard aspect of the offender, how the night had been employed.

He pretended to examine the offender, and sent him or her to the hospital, to be taken care of as if actually ill, and 24 hours generally restored them.

If the delinquency was frequent, there was a necessity for punishment; but much caution was necessary in the mode and degree of inflicting it. A slave of character will be more affected by a sense of shame, than by corporal punishment. A pudding round

self a house; and his family, or even the master, ought to assist him in purchasing a she goat or kid, a pig, and some common poultry.

It was with infinite pleasure the author remarked, after an absence of 13 years, the great change the promulgation of *Christianity* had made on the manners of the slaves. To give these regulations more force, they ought to be formed into a law, and read to the whole gang at stated times, with the other laws.

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the leg, or a collar round the neck, will often do more than 100 lashes.

There is another circumstance of great importance not sufficiently attended to, rarely at all.

Slaves, like soldiers, ought to be reviewed, and not only their working tools, but slender wardrobe examined: But, what is of more consequence, the state of their health accurately enquired into. This may be done by the manager, but the medical man is the fittest person to undergo the latter task.

Every fortnight, at least, when he comes to the plantation, he ought to enquire where the slaves are at work; and ride thither. He ought to pass along the line, and attentively examine each. If the slave seems to have lost flesh, or appears to be drooping and languid, he should *privately* enquire of the manager the nature and quantity of the food. If this tendency to disease (*venienti occurre morbo*) is remarked in a slave of good disposition, and it is tolerably certain that it is the effect of night rambling, the offender should
be

be locked up in the hospital, and fed with the new negroes and children. Here a sense of shame operates most powerfully; nothing can be a greater disgrace. To this may be added another, viz. sending them to weed with the younger negroes, or to pick graft with the children.

One of the lower white servants, or the black driver, should be ordered to talk to the culprit privately, and become a mediator.

By these honest arts, and some others which will come in more properly in another place; *A.* scarcely ever had occasion to punish corporally, and often cured them of the destructive practice of rambling.

From what has been said, the necessity of a strict superintendence, in order to obtain a moderate portion of their labour, is evident; and their obedience ought to be enforced, rather with the steadiness of a humane master, than by the severity of a rigid task-master.

CUNNING.

CUNNING. Most savage nations are artful; their ideas are few, and those being the result of their immediate wants, recur frequently, and their acumen in concerting the best means to attain the end desired is wonderful; and the artifices and pretexts they use to avoid labour, and escape punishment, are so various, and often so uncommon, it is very difficult to detect them. Indeed their arts are not to be eluded by any degree of vigilance.

The most common pretext is illness; and it requires much sagacity and experience in medical men to avoid imposition. Their duty being very limited, they quickly discern how far the manager or overseer is qualified to judge of the nature and extent of their labour.

The proprietors or directors of plantations ought therefore to be peculiarly careful in the choice of managers and overseers; as many estates have been irretrievably ruined by inattention in this respect. A skilful, attentive, steady, and humane manager will infallibly secure respect and obedience, and the business of the plantation will be done with

with much ease and satisfaction to the slaves, and greatly to the benefit and advantage of the proprietor.

How often has *A.* had occasion to regret, that from an ill-judged and most pernicious spirit of parsimony, men totally unqualified have been employed, merely because a few pounds have been saved in the salary! When an overseer is indolent or ignorant, or both, the slaves acquire habits, often insuperable, of insolence and idleness; and should he be succeeded by a man of an intemperate or rigid spirit, a sudden change of management may be attended with the worst consequences.

The only expedient that will avail in reclaiming them, is to make it their interest to be sincere and honest.

This is to be effected by indulgence and encouragement, and punishing rarely, but with severity.

Though a radically vicious nature is often incurable, and in this case the offender

der ought to be sent off the island, and sold, or even given away, because the example is baneful; but if owing to real want, or idleness, *A.* used to give them money or provisions; and when *A.* was manager, douteurs of this kind, though amounting to pounds in the year, saved many.

Another successful mode *A.* practiced, was to give the money or provision to a prudent slave, who was to be responsible for the disbursement, and also for the conduct of the delinquent, who was to work his patron's provision ground as well as his own, and sell and be accountable for the profits. In short, he became the slave of a slave; a degrading state.

A sense of inferiority and dependance soon awakened the offender, and reformation was the consequence, if there was the least spark of virtuous pride.

Another mode of mortification was to order that the culprit should have no house of his own, but be a domestic of his black master. Having no home, he could have

no wife; nor would any female who set any value on herself cohabit with such a vagabond.

The money for which the surplus of his provisions was sold, was employed either to purchase clothes for him, or a kid, pig, or breeding poultry, and he was permitted to build a house, in which he was assisted by his fellow slaves, on a Sunday, and paid by the master.

Property and industry go hand in hand: Property is a pledge to the society. If the slave commits depredation, or runs away, his stock of poultry, &c. and even his house, is forfeited; perhaps for a time only, unless he is incorrigible.

INTEMPERANCE. Savage nations, from a want of steady industry, and from their supplies being consequently precarious, eat but seldom, and then voraciously. This is rarely injurious to their health; because they proportion their labour to their ability. But the *African* slave, retaining his former habits, very often suffers extremely by alternate

But the *African* Slave, retaining his former habits, very often suffers extremely by alternate gluttony and abstinence, which equally disqualify them for steady labour.

It will therefore be peculiarly incumbent on the proprietor, or manager, to acquire a knowledge of their dispositions in this respect; and to guard against the consequences, in a manner to be pointed out under another head.

There is another species of intemperance which is still more destructive, not only of their constitutions, but of their morals—the love of strong drink.

Such of them as have inhabited the sea-coasts of *Africa*, acquire this and other vices from the *European* traders; and the contagious example is often extended to such slaves as are natives of the islands. But this vice is rather acquired than constitutional, for negroes have a natural aversion to

to strong drink, which they must take some pains to conquer.

A slave addicted to drunkenness, becomes not only useless, but noxious, because he will not hesitate to commit any crime for the purpose of gratification; and when drunk he is capable of the most violent excesses. This kind of intemperance is chiefly confined to the master of the family: his wife and children are temperate.

This fordid vice is, of all bad habits, the most difficult to eradicate.

Confinement in the hospital, or a strong hold, is the best remedy. If any strong liquors are conveyed to them, the sick nurse, or doctor woman, as she is called, is responsible.

Weston, the late comic actor, and another now alive, were, I am told, wont to suck brandy through a straw, passed through a key-hole—this stratagem has been practised by sottish slaves.

This

This ought to be guarded against by putting the sot into bilboes, at a distance from a door or window. The wife is generally the coadjutor; she ought therefore to be confined with him; and, if she has a young family, all but the sucking infant should be consigned to the care of the sick-nurse, or an old woman.

There is nothing, how disgusting soever, that a sot will not swallow, if it has an intoxicating quality. A washerwoman, who was employed at the house of a Mr. Willis, Apothecary, at *Andover*, was wont to drink the cordial waters, even when colocynth, or bitter apple was mixed with them. Cinnamon water was strongly impregnated with emetic tartar, by Mr. Hill, the apprentice, and she was cured of visiting the cordials, and even became disgusted at strong drink of any kind.

Every family and plantation has a stibium or emetic wine bottle—untoward accidents have happened from this.

The negroes are not fond of wine, but they will sometimes pilfer it; and when they have met with the stibium wine, they have been well disciplined.

A laughable mistake was committed in the parish of *Falmouth*, in *Antigua*. An old lady provided the gentlemen of the vestry with a dinner. It is common to drink Madeira negus before dinner. All but one gentleman, who drank punch, drank negus; and being soon seized with sickness at stomach, and severe discharges *both ways*, the alarm was general and great, but they escaped with a scouring, and loss of appetite for their dinner. This was owing to the wine being put into the stibium bottle, and the slaves are sometimes caught in the same manner. But rum is the favourite drink of negro sots, and they will even pilfer the low wines: sober men ought therefore always to be chosen for distillers. In one instance only I knew a woman who was employed as a distiller, and an excellent and faithful distiller she was. Indeed the women are, in general,

general, more trust-worthy than the men;
for very obvious reasons.

This propensity in the men to flogging, ought therefore to be carefully watched and checked in the beginning; and I think planters are much too remiss on this head; owing to to their not employing a little attention to the private life and manners of their slaves, whom they ought, in some measure, to consider, watch over, and treat as their children; an idea which should constantly regulate the conduct of a governor, whether he is the chief magistrate of millions, or master of 100 slaves; and indeed the latter, from the small number of his subjects, has an opportunity of acquiring a knowledge of the characters of individuals, and consequently of discouraging and restraining evil propensities before they attain the force of habit.

Vanity is the child of ignorance. Slaves are remarkably fond of gaudy trappings; and though they are often the fruits of a laudable

A laudable industry; yet they are more generally procured by knavery and rapine.

Vanity is the source of another evil among them—a multiplicity of wives; a passion excited not so much by the desire of variety, as in imitation of the principal men of their native countries.

Slaves of the superior order are excessively fond of expensive and splendid funerals; by which the whole family is not only stripped of the little property they have, but the meetings are often attended with riot and bloodshed.

It is extremely difficult, perhaps in many instances impossible, to correct this disposition, which is a source of many evils, unless by converting them to Christianity.

By this means the practice of polygamy, and the riotous expence incurred at their funerals, may, in a great measure, be prevented,

ed; and, in some degree also, their passion for gaudy clothing.

SUPERSTITION. All barbarous nations are superstitious, and this circumstance has been a great bar to their conversion to the Christian religion. On the first discovery of America, the *Spanish* priests found it convenient to accommodate themselves to the ideas of their intended converts, and by leaving them in possession of some of their old superstitions, only exchanged one fetish for another; and by thus temporising, effected very little in meliorating their moral principles and conduct.

It is suspected that the Moravian missionaries have followed, in this respect, the example of those of Spain.

With respect to the *African* natives, it is probable a thorough conversion of them need scarcely be expected, especially whilst they remain under the influence of their *Obia* men, a species of priests, who not only confirm them in their native superstitions, but often

often instigate them to acts of villainy; but the natives of the *West Indies*, the younger especially, may certainly be converted into tolerable Christians *.

* It may not be improper to remark here, that an enthusiastic Quaker, of the name of *Benmet*, residing in one of our continental colonies, addressed a letter to the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, complaining of the treatment of the slaves, and hinting (if *A.* recollects properly), at the propriety of emancipating them. That wise and respectable Society did not then deem slavery unlawful, or they would have told him so; but recommended that the slaves should be treated with humanity, and instructed in the duties of obedience and subordination.

CHAP.

C H A P. VI.

INJURIOUS ALLEGATIONS

R E F U T E D.

IT has been alledged, that our *West India* slaves are forced to labour beyond their strength, whilst their food is not, either in quality or quantity, sufficient to sustain them. I answer, from long experience, that the *British* day-labourer labours much more than any two slaves, without being so well fed; that the latter, when confined to a sick bed, experience more attention, care, and comfort than the parish poor in *England*, and that their lot in life is much more eligible; though, by a few judicious regulations, which the planters for their own sakes will certainly establish, the condition of the slaves may be still so far improved, as to render it

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still

still more an object of envy to a *free-born independent English* pauper.

It has been said, that were not *Europeans* to purchase slaves, the wars between the petty *African* states would cease; as they are carried on for the sole purpose of making prisoners and selling them to our colonies. This allegation has been fully refuted in a very judicious and candid publication, in which the author* has shewn very clearly, that this is so far from being the case, that “ this trade is probably permitted by Providence, as the means of preserving the lives of many thousands who would otherwise be put to death, and are thus made useful members of society.”

It has also been roundly asserted that, the planters are guilty of a most deliberate act of cruelty. Let us see what the Rev. Mr. *John Newton* says upon this subject.

* See a Voyage to the River *Sierra Leone*, by *John Mathews* Lieutenant in the Royal Navy, 1788; published by *White and Son*.

* A planter of *Antigua* told him in 1751, that a calculation had been made to determine' "Whether it was more for the interest of the planters to appoint their slaves moderate work, plenty of provisions, and such treatment as might enable them to protract their lives to old age:" or "by rigorously straining their strength to the utmost, with little relaxation, hard fare and hard usage, to wear them out before they became useless, and unable to do service, and then to buy new ones to fill up their places: that the latter was deemed much the cheaper; and that this said planter knew several estates in the island of *Antigua*, on which it was seldom known that a slave had lived above nine years: *Ex pede Herculem.*"

This *Rev. Flamen* had undergone the most extraordinary metamorphosis hitherto heard of in any age or country; for, lo reader! he was transformed from a *captain* of a *Guinea* ship into a *parson*. *Ex quovis ligno non fiat Clericus?* many of them are odd sticks enough, certainly; but Mr. *John Newton* exceeds them all.

Now the author, who resided in *Antigua* in 1751, asserts, *positively asserts*, this allegation to be an absolute falsehood; and it is incumbent on the said Reverend to name his author, in order to exculpate himself.

There was indeed a man of fun in that island, who used to tell the skippers of vessels wonderful stories; but *John Gattley* was no planter. But *A.* rather suspects that the Reverend himself has been the fabricator; for it is absolutely impossible that such a calculation could have been made, or carried into execution, unless *A.* as a professional man, had heard of it. But had it been possible, which it certainly was not, that any man could be so diabolical a villain as to put such a calculation into practice; his crime must justly have become his punishment*. For no person, *even the most skilful physician*, can so estimate the degree of bodily strength, as to determine how far hard la-

* Such is the humanity of the planters of *Antigua* in general, that were any man so hardy as even to whisper that such a calculation had occurred to him, much less that he intended to adopt it, he would be kicked out of society.

bour can be carried, so as not to produce disease. Suppose, what has too frequently happened, that a slave, after hard work through the day, has travelled from and to his plantation twenty miles in the course of the night, for purposes hereafter to be mentioned; a mortal fever often follows, or, what more frequently happens, the unhappy wretch gradually falls into a lingering disease, and becomes so totally unfit for labour, that even the whip will not extort service; for, according to the vulgar proverb, "you can have no more of a cat than the skin." But let us suppose that this said quondam *Guinea* Captain had become a *negro-driver**, a much more natural transition, than into a man of God (though, in this inventive age, cobblers become priests, and the public could have sustained no loss if some priests *A.* knows

* The Rev. Mr. *Clarkson*, who seems to be the best informed concerning the abuses of the *African Slave Trade*, has advanced, as facts, what must make any reader, not callous, shudder. He tells us also, that out of twenty-one of those skippers, three only were men of humanity; and as Mr. *John Newton* had been a buck in his younger days, the reader is at liberty to class him either with the majority or the minority.

had

had been bred cobblers, porters, or draymen); and actuated by that exuberant degree of humanity, which was inseparably connected with his former function, had ingeniously formed a calculation, and made the experiment alluded to; *ex eadem causa, idem sequitur effectus* (A. returns the Reverend tit for tat, though it is probable he may not be so over-stocked with classical learning as to understand the axiom). The same consequences would follow, whether the wretch walked himself to death, or was destroyed by hard labour.

If excess of labour and hard fare would, in all probability, rather destroy a slave in nine weeks than in *nine* years, what would be the result of a calculation of this extraordinary kind? The wretch worn down by hard labour, would become an invalid, and the master would be rewarded as he deserved, by being obliged to support an useless slave, and, by his death, would lose his whole value.

That slaves are some times over-worked, is
but

but too true (and the Author has, with infinite regret, remarked the consequences); especially when the proportion of working slaves is not sufficient, or an indispensable piece of work is to be finished within a certain time. This circumstance *A.* knows to be one great cause of the annual decrease of slaves, and he submits it to the serious consideration of the legislature, whether this ought not to be a most powerful dissuasive *against the abolition of the Slave Trade* that humanity can suggest; because the sum total of slaves, in any one colony, being insufficient for the *lucrative* cultivation of its lands, the working slaves must suffer in proportion from excess of labour. It would, in general, avail little, to tell the planter that he must cultivate less ground, nor hire task-work: but it often happens that he neither foresees, nor is apprized of the consequences. He is probably much in debt, and, wishing to extricate himself from his difficulties, he unconsciously urges his slaves to destructive exertions. With respect to task-gangs, they cannot always be had, and indeed it were to be wished that none such existed; for as they are rarely
hired

hired by any plantation, but for the purpose of hoeing land, this unceasingly severe labour is not only unfavourable to population, but destructive of many lives *.

From what has been said on this very interesting subject, it will appear to be incontestibly true, that the *abolition* of the *Slave Trade* would be productive of effects diametrically opposite to those which the fautors of it suggest and expect: because it would diminish population; for hard labour, independent of every other consideration, *must* be very

* On reading this chapter to a *West India* planter, he remarked that the reasoning was such as could not be refuted; but desired that a possible objection might be anticipated, that as most of the *West India* planters were in debt, their creditors would not permit them to remove their slaves. He observed that slaves had often been carried off clandestinely by fraudulent debtors, in spite of the utmost vigilance; beside that it would be the interest of the creditor to connive at the practice, provided he could rely on the integrity of the debtor, as it would be the only means of being reimbursed. There are not however wanting instances where whole colonies, involved in one common distress, have emigrated for the benefit of a more grateful climate, or a milder government; and what power could impose a restraint? The idea is not chimerical; and the period may not be very distant, when it may be realised.

unfavourable

unfavourable to the ability of either sex to propagate their species.

Let the planter therefore import slaves till he has sufficiently stocked his plantation (and he certainly will not for his own sake do more*), the labour of his working slaves will be light, because it will be performed by many hands; the slaves will be healthy, vigorous, and happy; the women will necessarily be more prolific, and their progeny hale and stout, and the increase would be an effectual bar to farther importation.

But if, on the other hand, the importation of slaves should be restrained (even were it practicable to prevent smuggling them, which it certainly is not), the unavoidable

* There would be such a degree of frantic infatuation in the opposition of the colonists to the abolition of the *Slave Trade* on any other principle, as has been observed, than a firm conviction of its being followed by unavoidable ruin, that it would be idiotism in the extreme to attribute it to any other motive; it would be to suppose that the planter, *like the suicide*, reduced to a state of desperation, hurried precipitantly into a state, from which there was no possibility of redemption.

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decrease

decrease of slaves would oblige the planters to desert their lands, and transport their slaves to the *Dutch* or *Danish* Colonies, where the produce is not subject to such ruinous duties as in ours; and, either by taking up lands, or hiring their slaves to task work, transfer an immense property and revenue to our commercial rivals; and leave behind, in lands and buildings, near 33 millions, to which add the slaves, and *Great Britain* loses 70 millions.

The slaves have lately been estimated at nearly 18 millions and an half sterling; and what remains of them a few years after the abolition of the *Slave Trade*, would be lost to this country. But were the planters to smuggle slaves, their rivals, having the whole trade in their hands, would raise the price to a ruinous degree; as the *Africans* have already on the rumour of an intended abolition; and if we cease to traffic with them in slaves, almost the whole of the trade must be lost; for elephants teeth and gold dust, which are the principal articles beside, are but inconsiderable. The gold dust is omitted
in

in the table; but the elephants teeth imported in 1787 amounted in value to only 11,573*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.* Now, it would not be very difficult to foresee what would be the consequence of our refusing to take their slaves. The price of slaves has been rapidly increasing, as *A.* knows, within the last forty-two years, even to more than half the value. The trade falling into the hands of our rivals, and supposing it possible that our planters could be restrained from smuggling; yet the price of slaves falling in consequence of the more limited demand, they would be able to undersell us in the article of refined sugars; and, not only deprive us of all our foreign trade in this article, but even smuggle them in upon us.

With respect to slaves, it is found, that we at present import 38,000 annually, which is more than all other nations beside. Now, if this number is necessary to keep up our stock, what would be the consequence of putting a stop to importation. The whole number of slaves in the *British* Colonies was estimated lately at 461,684. Now, let us

suppose the importation to be stopped for three years only, there must be a diminution of 114,000 slaves, nearly one-fourth, which must totally incapacitate the planter to proceed, without certain ruin, in cultivating the land; and therefore he must desert it.

But, let it be supposed, that about 5000 slaves might be annually preserved, which are now lost, by hard labour, scanty fare, and neglect, which is a very large allowance, still the consequences already mentioned must follow.

But there remains an argument against the abolition of the slave trade, which must be decisive, because it is unanswerable. Would the planters oppose the abolition, were they convinced that they could conduct these plantations without annual recruits? On what principle could this opposition be founded? No circumstance has contributed so much to involve them in heavy debts to their *British* correspondents as the frequent, and what they (it seems erroneously according to the assertion of their opponents) deem necessary, purchases

purchases of *African* slaves. *West India* planters feel their pride much hurt, and their disposition to live in an expensive stile much restrained, by this consideration, and would certainly, were it possible, avoid the cause of their embarrassments. Why, therefore, do they not? Because, being better judges than the speculative pamphleteers who have wasted much ink on a subject which they did not understand, they knew it to be impossible. As for the *Jamaican* historian, it is evident that he, as well as *Parson Ramsay*, was a discontented man, and wrote under the influence of pique, prejudice, and resentment. The Author, who can have no interested motives, and who, without vanity, claims a right to be a better judge of the subject than either, avers that an immediate abolition of the *Slave Trade* would be a very destructive measure to the *West India* Colonies. The Author, however, takes the liberty of proposing an expedient, which is, to limit the *Slave Trade* to our Colonies to three or more years; within which time the planters would have an opportunity of recruiting their plantations, and with wise regulations,

tions, the evil would, at least, be less severely felt.

Thus it has been clearly proved that an abolition of the *Slave Trade* must, in every point of view, be ruinous to the Colonies, and also to *Great Britain*. Pamphlets have been published, and petitions presented; dictated by misinformation or *prejudice*. But we know that *prejudice* is a deceitful inmate; in her own form the liberal will resist her; but she gains admission to the heart under so many specious disguises, that once received, it is almost impossible to expel her.

CHAP.

C H A P. VII.

*Reasons against the Abolition of the
Slave Trade thrown into one Point
of View.*

IT would be very uncandid to assert that many slaves now lost might not be saved; and the constitutions of others so preserved as to render them laboriously useful, for a greater number of years than at present; but, with every possible regulation, the numbers cannot be kept up, if such a degree of labour is to be obtained from them as can recompense the proprietor in a tolerable degree.

The following are the chief causes of the decline in numbers; independent of hard labour, scanty fare, and ill treatment:

1st, *Polygamy*. Conversion to the Christian religion may lessen this custom, perhaps totally

tally annihilate it. It were needless to adduce any proof, either that a man who has a multiplicity of wives, or a woman who shares her husband's bed with other women, can be so prolific as in countries where *monogamy* is practised, and each party faithful to the nuptial engagement.

2dly, *Night walking* of either party to visit the other, generally in distant plantations. This task generally falls to the lot of the female, in consequence of that subordination to which women are habituated in all uncivilized nations. Of these evils enough has been said already: the loss is greater than is generally supposed, owing to the night-walking slaves being taken ill at plantations remote from their own, and being deprived of necessary assistance.

3dly, The prostitution of young females, especially near sea-ports and barracks, by which means they are generally rendered totally sterile, subject to infectious and other diseases, and when become diseased, are secreted by their paramours,
or

or secrete themselves till they become incurable.

4thly, The unhealthy situation of certain plantations. It is uncandid to bring a few instances from any one island, where the number has continued the same, or has been increased; and where, perhaps, other circumstances concur; and chiefly, the more easy culture of the land, and its capability of producing a sufficient quantity of vegetables, roots, and fruits, to sustain the slaves, without the purchase of imported provisions, which are less nutritive, and often bad in their kind. One proof of mortality being the consequence of situation, is, that the White persons, whether proprietor, manager, or under-servants, suffer in proportion.

5thly, *Improper situation of the Negro huts.* As experience convinces him that this is frequently the case, one instance, and a very striking one, shall be mentioned: A medical gentleman (*Dr. Fraser*) leased an estate in the neighbourhood. The slaves were very sickly. *A.* advised removing
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the Negro houses to the ridge of a rising ground, sheltered from the North and East winds; and the estate became more healthy. There were marshy grounds on both those quarters. But the White servants who retained their situation, were as sickly as before.

6thly, *The prevalence of endemic, epidemic, and infectious diseases.* Without entering into a philosophical or medical consideration of this subject, it need only be observed, that it is a well-known fact, that the endemic diseases, the acute especially, are rapid in their progress, and frequently fatal in their issue. The epidemics seem to depend on some general causes, not always accurately ascertainable. Perhaps particular states of the air, either too moist or too dry, too hot or too cold, and perhaps some change thereby produced in the state of that indispensable necessary of life, *water*. When an infectious disease, as the dysentery, and some eruptive diseases, once gain footing in a *West India* colony, several causes concur to extend it, and render it more fatal. Thus the flux continued to ravage the Island of

Antigua

Antigua during six years, by which a great many valuable slaves were lost; and which, admitting every argument used by the fautors of abolition in its full force, could not have been replaced by slowly increasing population. But if experience evinces the fallacy of arguments used respecting a general increase of population, without importation, when applied to any one colony, we shall find, that the loss from epidemic diseases, which recur frequently, must be irreparable, without having recourse to a supply by importation.

7thly, *The loss of imported slaves.* This is very great, owing to mismanagement, from ignorance rather than from any systematic cruelty. The planter does not proportion labour to strength: a great error. Inured to habits of indolence in their own country, a sudden transition to hard labour destroys many: *A.* as a medical man, who ought to know the relative powers of different constitutions, avers that this is one great cause of the mortality. It has been said that an *African* Nègro cannot be seasoned, that is,

* fitted for the severest labour, under three years. That is not true, provided their labour is gradually increased. On their first arrival, they ought to have a piece of ground allotted them, and taught by their *patron* the method of cultivating it; and during the first twelve months they should be employed, sometimes in collecting grafs, weeding canes, or carrying out of manure. The *patron*, who ought to be a countryman, if such a person can be found, ought to have a certain degree of authority, not amounting to the power of manual chastisement, over his pupil; and, if kindly treated, and of a proper age, he, or she, will be fit for holing of land, at the expiration of the year. During crop, the labour being light, the new slave may be employed in any part of it; unless he is destined either to be a handicraft, a boiler, fireman, or distiller; and in this case, the sooner he is so employed, the better. The only hazard in this early destination is, that if they are found unfit, they are very much discouraged if they are employed in field-work.

8thly,

8thly, A sufficient number not being imported to slave the estates fully, and the improper choice. Of the latter something will be said in another place, so that the former will only be the object of our present consideration. The first cost of slaves imported is very great, and the planter often stretches his credit to the utmost, and indeed beyond it, that he may stock his plantation as soon as possible, and have the full benefit of the utmost cultivation. But, partly from the cause assigned, No. 7, and partly from that assigned here, he is frustrated in the execution of his plan; and annual importation becomes necessary.

A crafty old *Englishman*, a Dr. *Buxborne*, having a large crop of sugar to take off from two estates, and having very few slaves, purchased a great number, and drew bills which he knew would not be honoured; and by employing the new slaves in manufacturing the sugar, which he otherwise could not have done, he had the surplus sugar ready to pay for the bills, with 16 per cent. interest and damages. This is mentioned to shew

shew what expedients a planter will fall upon to slave his estate fully ; and how impossible it would be to prevent smuggling of slaves, notwithstanding *British* Acts of Parliament.

9thly, *The great number of infants lost by the Tetanus*, soon after birth, and by the want of the affectionate care of the mother. To what is said elsewhere, it may be observed that Negro women often overlay their infants, by drowsiness from excessive labour, or a want of interesting ideas (would to God the Author had such a want) to excite their vigilance.

10thly, Want of proper hospitals, nurseries, and nourishment for the sick ; the bad situation of those hospitals, and their not being kept sufficiently clean, and properly ventilated. These points are discussed elsewhere.

11thly, Want of due attention of proprietors and managers. Whilst so many proprietors come to this country to waste their fortunes, and leave their estates too often to interested, unprincipled men, as some are,
and

and on such low salaries as to tempt them to peculate, ruin must be the consequence; and hence it is that their estates sometimes fall into the hands of strangers, even *taylors* and *bucksters*.

12thly, The ignorance or inattention of the medical men. Of this some notice is taken, but the allowance is too small; for were they ever so skilful or conscientious, so much depends on the care of following their directions in the administration of the remedies, and the observance of regimen, that they are to be exonerated from much of the imputation which results from the loss of slaves who might be saved.

C H A P VIII.

Estimate of the annual Value of the Trade of Great Britain and her Colonies.

AS the public does not seem to be apprised of the immense consequence of the *West India British Colonies* to this almost bankrupt kingdom, the Author deems it his duty to give an abstract of the exports from, and imports to, *Great Britain and Ireland*, at periods the most remote from each other.

In 1763 the value of the exportation to the Islands was	£ 1,187,437	2	2
In 1787 —————	1,638,703	13	10
In 1763 the value of the importation from those Islands was	2,361,704	11	7
In 1787 it was —————	3,749,447	17	4
So that the exports of 1787 exceed those of 1763 —————	451,266	11	8
And the imports of 1787 exceed those of 1763 —————	1,387,743	5	9

What

What an amazing augmentation of both in the course of 14 years!

But if we go back to 1701, when we have the first official account of the exports to, and imports from, the *British West India Colonies*, the amazing increase will be more apparent.

Thus, in 1701 (a very favourable year), the exports were only	£ 339,249	9	10½
The imports were	738,601	1	10½
	1,077,850	11	9

Which, compared with the total of exports and imports in 1787, produce a balance of 4,310,401*l.* 3*s.* 5*d.* an amazing increase; but *A.* ventures to predict that it is arrived nearly to its acmè, and a very trivial change in the system which favoured this rapid progress, may reduce it to a cypher.

How is this astonishing increase to be accounted for, but from one cause; viz. the increased skill and industry of the planter, with respect to the cultivation of his land, vastly superior, as the Author knows, to

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that

that of any others, from having visited several of the Colonies of other powers. But alas ! do these estimates afford any idea of the real state of the *British West India* planter ? No. Whilst, by his unceasing, but unavailing industry, he contributes so largely to sustain a sinking empire, is his private fortune bettered by it ? No.

His debts are scarcely, if at all, diminished ; and struggling, like a drowning man, to keep his head above water, the abolition of the slave trade must, inevitably, sink him into the abyss of ruin, and he will drag the *British* empire along with him : for is it possible that, scarcely able, as we are at present, to sustain the contingent expenses of government, in addition to the interest of a heavy national debt, we can possibly bear a defalcation of 5,338,251*l.* 15*s.* 2*d.* that is the loss of the whole, and consequently of the revenue it would produce ; for a time must come when the *British* planters, unable to cultivate their lands, except at a ruinous loss, must emigrate, and carry their moveable property with them, estimated

estimated lately at near eighteen millions and a half; and with them, all that skill which has hitherto rendered them so vastly superior to those of other states, without which, an universal bankruptcy must have taken place.

The export trade from *Ireland* to the *West India* colonies in 1783,
was —————

in 1787	£ 12,284 17 5
	20,160 6 11
Balance	£ 7,875 9 6

The import trade from the *West Indies* to *Ireland* in 1783, was
in 1787, was only

	£ 98,588 3 3½
	88,869 18 11
Balance	£ 9,618 4 4½

We see here, that whilst the export trade of *Ireland* increased, that of the import diminished.

How has this happened?

A. having had no conversation with merchants on this subject, *A.* ventures, partly on his own experience, and partly from vague information, to assign the following causes:

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1st. The great hazard a planter runs, from a chance of bankruptcy of the manufacturer, who purchases from his merchant. This *A.* experienced to his loss.

2dly. The *West India* imports being generally sold at a better price at the *British*, than the *Irish* ports.

3dly. The deficiency of the *Irish* merchants and sugar-bakers, with respect to *capital*, which must necessarily discourage the planter from importing into the *Irish* ports, as two causes concur to diminish his security.

Were it not that the *Irish* market takes off our rum, manufactured in the *Leeward Islands*, and for which there is scarcely any sale in the *British* markets, on account of the superiority of the *Jamaica* rum, the imports to *Ireland* would be exceedingly reduced: but it may be asked, why do not the *Leeward Islands* manufacture their rum, so as to equal that of *Jamaica*? It is not from want of skill, as *A.* knows.

With

With respect to *Africa*,

Our exports in 1701, were	—	£ 133,954	1	11
In 1787	—	668,255	14	4
Our imports in 1701, were	—	21,074	19	7
In 1787	—	117,817	16	10

Here we find the export and import trade gradually increasing to a very considerable amount. Some remarks on this subject will be made in another place.

Happily for *Great Britain*, the immense capitals of individual commercial men, and the superior skill of her manufacturers, must secure her a preference over all other nations, with respect to trade, notwithstanding the heavy duties, both on exports and imports; and to these concurring circumstances we are indebted for our having hitherto escaped national bankruptcy; notwithstanding the loss of thirteen provinces, which, if we had wisely emancipated at once, without the expence of blood and an immense treasure, we should have been infinite gainers by the *apparent* loss; as was foreseen by the wisest politician* of this or any other age, and in which *A.* perfectly concurred with him.

* The Dean of Gloucester.

CHAP. IX.

Distribution of Negro Labour.

NOTHING is of more consequence than this; and yet it is not always sufficiently attended to.

1st. The planter ought to calculate the strength of his working slaves, and avoid cultivating more land than they will work with ease, unless he intends to hire labour.

2dly. He ought to ascertain what quantity of hired labour he shall want to complete his plan; and he will, of course, have the hardest labour performed by the hired slaves.

Some plantations are so miserably deficient in slaves, as, when the crop turns out

to be larger than ordinary, the proprietor is obliged to hire slaves by the day to assist in taking it off. It is a query, not yet solved, whether the planter had not better put his cattle to pasture on those canes, rather than pay for making sugar out of them.

3dly. The distribution of labour may be considered in two or three points of view.

I. With respect to the kind of labour best adapted to each season of the year. Common sense points out the propriety of employing the servants on the hardest labour, when they are best able to perform it; but unfortunately this cannot be done. The strength of the slaves is, beyond all conception, greatest, about the middle of the crop or harvest. At this time the two kinds of work indispensably necessary are, cutting down the canes and planting; which are not laborious. Some planters, indeed, who are advocates for late planting, leave a piece or two of indifferent rattoons to plant after the crop is finished. Where the plantation is large, or weakly handed, this may be of use,

use, and prudent; for canes planted even so late as *January 1790*, will be fit to cut in *April or May 91*.

This work, and carrying out manure, will give some respite from the great labour of holing; and not only as a planter, but a *physician*, *A.* earnestly recommends that the holing gang shall only be employed every other day.

The Author, as a *chemist*, begs leave to make a few remarks on manure. It is well known that all the parts of animals are preferable, as manure, to those of vegetables; not only because the oils and salts abound more, but are of a more active nature.

A wag has represented a projector as having advised to employ *old wigs* as a manure; and, ludicrous as the idea may seem to be, they will make an excellent manure, if the hair is cut into small pieces. Mr. *Willock* has been advised to employ the dregs of *train oil* on his farm in this county; and, on his mentioning it, *A.* advised him

to

to send some butts of it to one of his estates in *Antigua*, where he has a considerable portion of poor land.

The advantages would amply repay the expence.

1st. Because it is a very permanent animal manure.

2^{dly}. *Marle* is not to be found in every plantation; and when it is, the labour of digging and carrying it out is very great; and though a good manure, it is in no proportion equal to the oil.

3^{dly}. The Author has seen a machine well adapted to distribute the oil.

4^{thly}. In dry seasons it will, in some degree, supply the place of rain, by keeping the earth moist.

5^{thly}. In poor land, which being generally stiff, and which ought therefore to be ploughed previously to holing, the oil ought to be distributed after it has been ploughed.

II. Some observations on the laborious employment of holing may not be amiss.

1st. The hoes are very expensive, and the more so, as they are generally made of bad iron. On talking to the very ingenious and worthy partners, Messrs. *Cort* and *Jellicoe*, who have a patent for an invention, by which they make iron superior to the *Swedish*, the Author mentioned the great advantage to the *West India* planters of having their hoes and bills made of this iron, and the Author drew up a letter on this subject to be published in the newspapers. Why it was not, he cannot tell.

This process consists in depriving the metal of its *plumbago*, or dross, which renders the iron brittle.

Every planter knows how frequently new hoes are broken, even the first day they are used; and how soon the bills are worn out. One means of preserving them would be to dip them in boiling pitch as soon as they are to be laid up: this would check the corroding impression.

impression of the atmospheric air; a little tallow should be mixed with it.

2dly. Mention has been made of ploughing. The Author meant hoe-ploughing; but the Author knows not any solid objection to the use of the *English* plough, worked with oxen.

It would increase the breed of that useful animal, and consequently the quantity of manure—it would relieve the slaves from the hardest part of their labour; and even in light soils, the turning it up previously to holing, would tend much to facilitate it.

Even in ground not remarkably hilly, the plough may be employed; and, by habit, the Negro ploughman might become soon very expert.

Whatever diminishes the labour of the slave is, *now especially*, an object of the utmost importance,

III. The field slaves ought to be divided into three gangs. The strongest ought to

be employed in the most laborious work, the second in weeding the canes, and the third in collecting fodder for the cattle and horses: and here it may be remarked, that this distribution of labour will have very good effects.

1st. Slaves nearly of equal strength will be excited, by emulation, not to be tardy. No slave ought to be put into the holing gang before he or she is sixteen years of age: early hard labour is very injurious; it prevents growth, and consequent increase of strength, and brings on premature old age.

2dly. When a slave begins to droop and lose flesh, he or she ought to be employed in the weeding-gang, as also those who are upon the recovery from disease. This mode of employment will be preferable to allowing them to linger in the hospital, as it will promote recovery, by giving them air, gentle exercise, and the benefit of the effluvia from the soil turned up.

3dly. The grass-gang should consist of old people past their labour, watchmen, children; and

and invalids; who ought to be employed either in following the weeders, and picking up the grafs they have rooted up, or in the intervals of cane-pieces.

4thly. By having a particular gang for this purpose, much labour will be saved to the grown slaves, who are employed very injudiciously in this way, for many cogent reasons.—Even collecting grafs is a labour, and therefore as much rest as possible ought to be allowed to the slaves, both at noon and night. In the evening this employment is peculiarly improper, not only because the sudden transition from hard labour, till the sun is almost set, to somewhat relatively approaching a state of rest, when the dews begin to fall, exposes them to all its bad effects; especially as the most industrious are often delayed at the door of the overseer's house, till the most indolent have brought their bundles, that the roll may be called over, and their bundles examined.—

The opportunity of collecting them for the purpose of education is lost, at least in part, both at noon and night; for as slaves seldom eat at noon, they might be employed

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in the school part of the noon recess from labour.

It is not foreign from this subject to remark, that on the first settlement of the *West India* Colonies, the adventurers being in general needy, and having few slaves, and being moreover unable to erect sugar-works, much of the land remained uncultivated; and such parts as were put into culture, were employed either in raising provisions for the family and slaves, or cotton, indigo, ginger, and even tobacco, as being articles which could be cultivated at a small expence of labour,

In *Antigua*, and probably in the other colonies that the Author has not visited, there is a considerable portion of the land unfit, on account of its poverty, for cultivating the sugar-cane. As soon, however, as the planter had become comparatively wealthy by the fruits of his limited industry, and his merchant in *England* had sufficient confidence in him to advance him money, he was seized with the rage of becoming
sugar-

sugar-planter: he therefore built expensive sugar-works, and purchased slaves as rapidly as possible,

He had not sufficient experience to know that the sugar-cane required a rich soil; or if he had some idea of it, he was determined to be rich and independent with all possible expedition, that he might come to this country, and enjoy himself for the remainder of his life, and superintend the education of his children: but the reverse to what he expected generally happened. When a little planter, he did not run in debt, because it was not easy to obtain credit, except from the shop or store-keepers, as they are generally called; his fare was frugal, and his children had sufficient education for every useful purpose.

Commencing sugar-planter, many of the slaves he purchased were lost within the first year, owing partly to the injudicious practice of buying adult slaves, and men in preference to women, under the absurd idea that they had more strength; partly from his pushing
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ing the few slaves he had beyond their strength, especially as even the seasoned, or native slaves, had before been used to a much lighter species of labour. The consequence of this haste to get rich was, that he was generally ruined, especially if he had a poor ungrateful soil to deal with. Hence it was that very little land was appropriated to the purpose of pasture, especially in the lesser islands. There were many estates in *Antigua* by which the proprietors sunk large sums; but their successors, taught by woe-ful experience, have converted several of those poor sugar estates into pasture land; and, indeed, many great and irremediable evils have arisen from the ambition of the planter to become a manufacturer of sugar.

About the year 1763, when the ceded islands were to be parcelled out to new settlers, the Author was, among others, consulted by Lord *Halifax* on the best mode of settling the lands. He, among other regulations little attended to, advised that lands should be appropriated solely to pasture in
different

different parts of the islands, and sold proportionably cheaper, on condition, under the check of the legislature, that they were not to be converted to any purpose of culture.

From these the sugar plantations might always be supplied, at an easy rate, with cattle and sheep; and less pasture land become necessary in the several plantations appropriated to sugar. There was nothing arbitrary in this; because the purchaser, knowing the conditions, had his option.

IV. Another circumstance in the distribution of labour, well worthy of attention, is never to allow the slaves, in crop-time, to labour long after sun-set. The boiling-house ought always to be shut before eight o'clock. Without assigning reasons dictated by prudence, and well known to every planter, boiling sugar till midnight is very hurtful to the healths of the best slaves in the plantation, the boilers, fire-men, and mill-gang. The night air is peculiarly injurious to the two former, as they are exposed

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to considerable heat in the boiling-houses and furnace sheds; their natural rest is broken, and nothing is saved by it, in point of progress, unless there are two sets of these people to relieve each other.

From these the sugar plantations might always be supplied, at an early rate, with cattle and sheep; and his pasture land be come necessary in the several plantations appropriated to sugar. There was nothing arbitrary in this; because the purchaser, knowing the conditions, and his opinion,

IV. Another circumstance in the cultivation of labour, well worthy of attention, is never to allow the slave, in stop-time, to labour long after sunset. The sugar house ought always to be shut before eight o'clock. Without assigning reasons, but by experience, and well known to every planter, boiling sugar till midnight is very harmful to the health of the best slaves in the plantation; the better the men, the more the right is peculiarly injurious to them. They are exposed

CHAP.

CHAP. X.

Of the Food, Clothing, and Conversion of the Slaves.

OF the former, some notice has been taken in *A.*'s answer to the Queries. A few more remarks may be useful.

1st. Vegetable food produced upon the plantation is preferable to Indian corn imported from the continent, or beans from *Great Britain*. Rice is an expensive food, and has little nourishment in it; and flour is too dear*.

* With respect to the proportion of food, six or seven pints of *Indian* corn, or of beans, with three or four herrings, as an allowance for an adult field slave, though more is seldom given, is not sufficient; some gentlemen, and among them *Mr. Burton*, the Chief Judge, generally gave two or three pints more; but this distribution ought to be regulated by the wants of the slave only.

zdly. It is certainly preferable in such soil as will produce yams, to allow the slaves no ground ; and the Author has always been of opinion that, even in such plantations as are not favourable to their growth, plantanes and bananas, common fields of potatoes and eddoes, from which the watchmen and tradesmen, under the eye of a White overseer, are to dig a certain quantity twice a week to be distributed to the slaves, is preferable to an allotment of ground to each.

1. Because the major part of them do not cultivate it properly.

2. With-holding the ground will take away the plea for expecting half of a working day.

3. Instead of working their grounds on a Sabbath day, they may be better employed ; for if it is right to convert them to Christianity, they should be impressed with a just sense of the force of positive precepts inculcated in the Gospel ; and this is more necessary in proportion to the ignorance of the
convert,

convert. It may indeed be said, that they will not have an opportunity of selling their surplus provisions, or purchasing other articles. But this may easily be provided for, by allowing one half of the gang to go alternately to market*, the other part to be detained at home to attend divine worship; when the service of the church of *England* is to be regularly performed in the morning, and a plain discourse read by the master, manager, or even one of the best readers of the *Africans* themselves. This is preferable to allowing them to attend Moravian or Methodist meetings, where the former, at least, not only expect contributions, but, like the Romish missionaries among the *Indians*, operate upon the superstition of those ignorant people; and occasionally accommodating themselves to the early prejudices they had imbibed, trump up a species of religion which has scarcely any resemblance to the plain precepts of Christianity.

* There is an old law in *Antigua* which obliges the slaves to quit the market by ten o'clock *Sunday* morning; but no regard is paid to it.

In the afternoon, about four o'clock, the whole gang is to attend (as on ordinary days) the school; which being finished in an hour and an half, half an hour, as in the morning, is to be employed in procuring fodder for the cattle, the only day on which the whole gang is to be so employed.

With respect to the quantity of food to be supplied weekly, this must be adapted to the season of the year. A certain proportion of salt fish, when it can be procured, ought to make a part of the allowance. Some remarks with respect to supplying the idle and worthless, and the children of negligent mothers, have been made in another place.

CLOTHING. In such a climate little is necessary. Their blankets ought, like the soldiers knapsacks, to be surveyed once a week. And here it may be hinted, that the love of finery may be made a proper use of to reward merit.

There are few proprietors who have not a certain livery. Such of the field men slaves, or
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of the household slaves, as behave well, should be rewarded with two suits of the finer white Osnaburgs, to which a collar of cloth of the colour of the master's facing may be tacked; whilst the other household slaves shall have only brown Osnaburgs. The deserving women should have two jacket petticoats, the latter with an occasional border of the cloth as the collars of the men. Those who are deprived of this distinction (for they should not be permitted even to purchase it except by good conduct) will, at least, have the mortification of wanting it.

CHAP. XI.

Punishment of Slaves.

SCOURGING slaves has a very bad effect on their disposition; and yet it is sometimes indispensably necessary: at least, the slaves should be convinced that, if they commit great offences, they will undergo an adequate degree of corporal punishment.

Every White person ought to be armed with the power of punishing to a certain degree; but even that power ought to be very limited: that is, an inferior White servant may order the driver to give the slave one or two lashes; but the driver ought to have no power of punishing in any degree. Slaves, when invested with power, always abuse it.

But

But even the proprietor or manager ought not to have the power of ordering more than twenty-four lashes for any one crime. If the master or manager conceives that the crime merits a more severe punishment, he ought, by law, to be obliged to carry the slave before a magistrate, who, on hearing the case, shall direct what punishment he thinks proper; and it ought always to be inflicted publicly in the next town. Severe punishment by the whip is sometimes fatal: a woman died under *A.*'s care, of the locked jaw, in consequence of such a punishment.

It is a lamentable circumstance, that the dread of punishment is necessary to enforce the performance of duty.

A very respectable gentleman, a convert to Methodism, ordered that the drivers should be deprived of their whips, and that no corporal punishment should be inflicted on his slaves.

A slave having died on *Saturday*, it was necessary he should be buried next day.

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Some Negro tradesmen were ordered to dig a grave. They refused. The master ordered them to be whipped; but the first on whom the punishment was to be inflicted, drew a knife and stabbed his master in the breast, and he had nearly lost his life.

In another plantation, the manager ordered a slave to be whipped; he resisted those who were ordered to punish him. The manager attempted to seize him, and he stabbed him in the thigh. The wound was not mortal; yet the culprit was hanged, by order of the magistrates.

The law upon which he was condemned is too severe; at least the Governor ought always to reprieve, and eventually pardon on those occasions.

When slaves desert repeatedly, they are generally obliged to perform their labour in chains, sometimes two or more linked together. This kind of punishment rarely avails; and these wretches almost always pine away by degrees, and become incapable of

of any labour; it were better therefore to sell them on the continent of *America*, where, the labour being easier and their food less scanty, they sometimes reform.

Slaves may, by law, be capitally punished for repeated desertion. This punishment, however, is seldom inflicted; and it is much to the honour of the legislators of *Antigua*, and of the magistrates, that the laws against slaves are not sanguinary, and punishments are less frequent and severe than in the *British* navy and army.

Several reasons might be assigned why the legislators of nations have enforced obedience rather by the fear of punishment, than the hope of reward; but it may be supposed that in small communities, or large families, the latter would be a powerful incentive. Applying this maxim to the management of slaves, which may be said to be a planter's family, and whom he ought to consider and treat as his children, the deserving slave might sometimes be encouraged, and the emulation of others excited by indulgence and reward.

C H A P. XII.

*On the Employment of supernumerary
House Slaves.*

Parasitorum Parasitarumque Caterva. JUVENAL.
Amicus Plato, sed magis amica veritas.

IT is a truth generally felt and acknowledged, that, from a variety of causes, the number of our field Negroes is within these few years greatly lessened, insomuch that, when we have a large crop to take off, much time and produce is thereby lost, or an intolerable additional expence incurred by hiring. Any plan, therefore, which may tend to increase their number, without inconvenience or expence, must be well received by the Public.

In all countries where the use of slaves has been permitted, the number of domestic slaves has always been enormous. This was evidently the case with respect to the *Greeks* and

and *Romans*, as we learn from the private life and manners of those nations, of which hints are occasionally interspersed in such of their writings as have escaped the ravages of time and barbarism. The same custom, as we are informed by travellers, prevails at this day in *Turkey*, *Persia*, and *Africa*. Were we to assign general causes for the prevalence of this custom, the most obvious certainly are, indolence, vanity, and the love of power.

A. having peculiarly employed his attention on this subject, during a space of near forty years, he has remarked that this evil has been gradually increasing in the sugar colonies; and he does not hesitate to pronounce it to be one great cause of their present declining state.

The change of their manners has, even within his memory, been very great. Whilst their manners were less refined, their imaginary wants were fewer, and consequently their attendants, though always more than sufficient, were less numerous; but in proportion

portion as they have become more ostentatious in dress, equipage and table, they have increased prodigiously.

That the Author's observations on this subject may make a stronger impression on his readers, he has annexed the following calculation, which he believes to be as exact as any can be that is not grounded on absolute demonstration.

No. I.

For a Family without Children or a Plantation.

House-maids	-	1
Cook	-	1
Washer	-	1
Negro man servant	-	1
		4

No. II.

For a Plantation with a Family.

House-maids	-	2
Cook	-	1
Washer	-	1
Men servants	-	2
		6

No.

No. III.

For a Plantation with a Family and Carriage.

House-maids	-	2
Cook	-	1
Washer	-	1
Men servants	-	4
		8

Remarks on the Calculations.

1st. The office of *house-maids* need not be pointed out. All of them ought to assist the washer-woman to do up the linen; they ought also to be sempstresses, to make and mend the family linen. The number of these domestics is very much increased by allowing the daughters each a maid; a most absurd and injurious custom for several reasons, but chiefly because it is favourable to indolence, to which the natives of hot climates are too much addicted. Where there is a child or children, and the family can well afford it, another house-maid may be added. Even young men have sometimes separate servants: this is absurd.

Cook.

Cook. For the common purposes of the family, one is sufficient; when gentlemen entertain large companies, they can borrow of a friend. If the cook is a female, she ought to assist the house-maid.

Washer. Where there are more than one house-maid, she may be assisted, even in washing, by one at least; by both in ironing.

Men servants. In calculation No. I. the master is supposed to keep a horse, as all except the indigent do. The men servants business is to do every part of the house labour with the house-maids, except that of the bed-chambers. One lady *A.* knew made sempsters of her men servants. It is the man servant's and cook's business to provide wood and water: one of them is to be stable-boy and coachman, or postilion (where a carriage except a one horse chaise or whisky is kept), a third must attend the carriage, beside the coachman or postilion; and one ought to remain at home.

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The children of the female servants increase the number of house-slaves; but this is unavoidable. As soon, however, as they are fit to do the least labour out of doors, they ought to be joined with those of their own age, and from that instant employed solely in field labour.

Having just shewn not only the great savings, but also the considerable gains, that must arise from lessening the number of house Negroes, the Author proceeds now to consider the chief causes of their employing more than are necessary, that we may the more readily find out the means of remedying the evil, and shall answer the most obvious objections that may be offered against this reformation.

The chief causes are, he apprehends, Indolence, Ostentation, Favoritism.

But before he proceeds, he must intreat his readers will believe that none of his remarks are personal; and, as a proof of it, he may safely appeal to each person whether,

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though they may not be inclined to apply some of the strictures to themselves, they do not know several of their friends and neighbours to which they are justly applicable.

Indolence. In a sultry and enervating climate, indolence becomes habitual, unless constant efforts are made to resist this disposition, equally injurious to interest and health. The Author does not deny that many of our *West India* women are, comparatively, notable housewives; but they are, in general, less so than they ought to be; especially as their servants are, for the most part, idle and knavish. This is one cause of the great number of house servants employed, which might be avoided by the attention of the master and mistress.

In *Great Britain*, creditable families of a moderate fortune, living on their means, and who keep up a visiting intercourse with a genteel neighbourhood, even if a carriage is kept, rarely employ more than five or six servants, and without a carriage, generally

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two women and a man servant; and persons of high rank or large fortunes, who, in compliance with fashion, employ a great train of servants, constantly complain of the inconvenience and expence.

Ostentation. Where a lady, whether married or single, or a gentleman and his family go upon a visit, even for a night, in that sociable and hospitable country, the train of attendants is generally very great, to the annoyance of the family visited; for those strange servants are often more difficult to be pleased and accommodated than their masters and mistresses. *A.* has already remarked on the impropriety of permitting the sons or daughters of the family to have separate servants.

Favouritism. The natives of the *West Indies* are, in general, humane and complacent to their slaves, the ladies especially. When a house slave, especially a female, who has been bred from her infancy with her mistress, and has probably suckled the same milk, has children, she too often pre-

vails on the lady to have her children, if males, bred mechanics, boilers, distillers, or drivers; or, more frequently, to be employed as house servants, whether they are necessary or not.

This is an evil of the first magnitude on a double account,

1st. The expence of feeding and clothing superfluous slaves is very great, and there not being sufficient employment for them, they become idle and worthless.

2^{dly}. But this is a comparatively small evil compared to the decrease thereby of the field slaves, which are the nerves and strength of the planter.

It is impossible to make even a tolerably accurate calculation of the number of slaves in *Antigua* that might be added to the field labourers; but we shall not exceed if, of house servants and mechanics, we suppose 1000. Now if we take the medium number of the whole slaves in *Antigua* to be

the 37,000, 1-37th part of the whole should be employed in the field, who are not.

This would be a prodigious acquisition of real wealth to the planter; and what is of greater consequence, would add nearly three labourers to each 100, and by their assistance, lessen that of the whole, to the manifest preservation of their healths and lives, and would diminish the annual proportion of deaths very much.

Another advantage would accrue from it. House servants and mechanics being chiefly natives, such of them as could be spared, would be in the proportion of one-third at least more valuable as field servants, than the natives of *Africa*; and, indeed, the relative value is greater, if we consider how many of the latter die in what is termed *seasoning*.

Planters do not agree whether it would be more profitable to hire all the mechanical labour, or have the tradesmen belonging to the plantation. *A.* hesitates not to say, that
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the former is preferable; if only from the single consideration, that they thereby add to the field labourers.

Managers and lower White servants, when they begin to purchase slaves, too frequently breed them mechanics. This is a very gross error, for the most obvious reasons.

C H A P. XIII.

*General Motives for Humanity to
Slaves.*

THE conformity between the general principles of animated nature, and the organs by which its functions are performed, is so great, in man and brute, in the elephant and the ant, that this circumstance ought to be a powerful incentive to affection for, and tenderness toward our brothers and sisters of the creation; and as "in pride, in reasoning pride, our error lies," there can be no stronger motive for our humility, than the consideration, that if these our brethren are not possessed of reason, to which, perhaps unjustly, we claim an exclusive privilege, they possess a faculty very analogous, and which, in many instances, gives them a decided superiority over us.

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In no instance is this superiority more manifest, than in the expedients suggested by their instinctive sagacity to ward off those evils which tend to the destruction of animal life.

Whether brutes really possess reason in any degree, and are therefore subject to proportionable responsibility, is a question which it would be improper to discuss in this place; but as it is not inconsistent, either with moral or religious obligation, to indulge a hope that they may, the Author has always felt himself inclined to cherish such an opinion, as the best antidote to self-sufficiency; and a strong inducement to set a higher value on his fellow-creatures, whatever may be their supposed rank in the great scale of creation. Hence *African* slaves, being, like ourselves, of the human race, become more peculiarly objects of our indulgence and humanity.

It has been supposed, that the more remote mankind are from a state of high civilization, the less subject they are to maladies.

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The rare instances of the human race, which have by accident been thrown into a state of wild nature, will not afford us sufficient data upon which we can decide; we only know that their bodily powers are evidently greater than in the civilized state, and that they have diminished when savage man has been brought into a state of society.

C H A P X I V .

*Means of preserving the Health of
Slaves.*

WHETHER the *Africans* are more healthy and longer lived in their native country, than after their transportation to our sugar colonies, has never perhaps been ascertained; nor whether a state of slavery is injurious to health or longevity.

So far as incessant labour is connected with particular conditions of slavery, reason and experience convince us, even from what we remark in the natives of *Europe*, whose employments are the most laborious, it undoubtedly is; and as prevention of disease constitutes a very essential part of medical knowledge, it becomes the Author's duty, as it is a part of his plan, to offer a few remarks on that subject,

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In the former part of this tract, every opportunity has been taken to inculcate the necessity of proportioning the quantum of nourishment to that of labour, and of the latter to the relative degrees of strength.

Inclemency of season or of weather, as being frequent causes of diseases, though they cannot always be avoided, may certainly be partly counteracted. In the intervals between the crops, the food ought therefore to be more nourishing, and the proportion of animal food greater; not only as the season is more unhealthy, but the labour greater. When there is a prospect of the day being incessantly rainy, the field slaves ought not to be employed; or if it is likely to be frequently showery, they ought to work near some place where they may obtain speedy shelter. If surprised by a sudden shower, the woollen cloathing is a better preventive of the bad effects of being wet than linen. Hence the *Osnabrugs*, with which the *French* planter clothes his field slaves, are not so good a defence against rain or night air. A small proportion of grog, made of

rum, in which the wild cinnamon is infused, given to the gang after being exposed to rain, will be of use; and as soon as may be they ought to put off their wet clothing.

The advantage of building the Negro huts in a healthy situation, has been mentioned. To render them more healthy, the foundation ought always to be of stone, cemented by good mortar, and surrounded by a trench, to give a ready passage to the torrent of rain. If there is a stone quarry at hand, the floor ought to be laid with flags, otherwise with broad and thin bricks, made here for that purpose; they ought to be well cemented. The cane thatch ought to be so laid as to be impenetrable by rain.

There are certain classes of slaves who are particularly exposed to the bad effects of night air. Whether these effects proceed from the absence of the sun, which favours the extraction of foul air from vegetables, or the sudden fall of those dews which are suspended near the surface, or the relative coldness

coldness of the atmosphere; it is certain that the night air is unwholesome in hot climates.

In such plantations as continue to boil the sugar till late in the night, the boilers and firemen ought to have flannel waist-coats and sliders; but above all the watchmen, who are generally the most valuable slaves in the estate, ought to be supplied with them, as being a better defence than the loose blanket. A number of these suits should be kept in the overseer's possession, and given out occasionally. They ought to be washed as often as is necessary. The loss of one of these valuable people would be greater than the expence of accommodating fifty. Keeping up an equable perspiration, and thereby counteracting the impressions of cold and moisture, is of the utmost importance.

CHAP.

C H A P. XV.

The Hospital or Sick House.

BEFORE we proceed to the treatment of the diseases of slaves, it may be proper to offer some remarks on the necessary accommodations during their illness.

Nothing is more necessary for the benefit of a plantation than a good sick house or hospital. It ought to be situated near the works, that the manager may inspect it frequently; but if the works are not situated on the most healthy spot in the plantation, such a situation should be chosen.

It should consist of three apartments, and a necessary. The outer for the habitation of the nurse, where there ought to be a grate and chimney, to carry off the smoke, which is often very offensive to the sick, those especially as labour under any disease of the breast.

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The next apartment is for the ordinary sick; but when they are very numerous, some of the worst ought to be lodged in the nurse's apartment, more immediately under her eye.

The third apartment ought to be appropriated to the use of lying-in women, who will be much better accommodated here under the nurse's eye than at their own houses; and many more new-born children may be preserved from *Tetanus*, and other diseases of early infancy. And here it may be remarked, that the sick nurse, who ought to be a midwife, should have one or two dollars for each infant she raises. The pregnant women are averse to lying-in in the sick house, but it ought to be insisted upon. When there are no lying-in women, the ordinary sick ought to be placed there, that too many sick may not be crowded into one room.

The sick ought also to be classed; those who are in the most dangerous state by themselves, that the violence of the illness, or their deaths, may not alarm or discourage the others.

Children,

Children, if sucking, ought to be in an apartment by themselves; but if weaned, the mothers ought not to be with them, because the fatigue incapacitates them for their daily labour, and the children are more froward and noisy under the indulgent eye of a mother.

The necessary ought to have a tub, to be removed every day, and some tar or pitch exhaled in it by means of a red hot iron; this also should be done often in the other apartments.

The bedsteads ought to be like the sloping bedsteads of a guard-house, with a narrow foot-board to support the sick; should they slip downwards, as all weak persons are apt to do.

Instead of dried plantane leaves strewed, they ought to be put into coarse Osnabrugs, and the beds often scoured and aired, and the leaves frequently changed.

There is much comfort to the sick in a soft pillow; each, therefore, ought to have one stuffed with feathers.

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The sick seldom have any covering but their blankets. They are often too warm, a coarse sheet would be preferable.

The rooms ought to be well ventilated, and for this purpose the windows ought to have jealousies to keep out the sun and rain: they ought to have shutters beside, to be used only in stormy weather.

There should be a closet to lock up the medicines, the food, and the hospital utensils.

And here, by the bye, it may be remarked, that as the earthen vessels are often glazed, they are very improper; but at any rate, being often broken, they are more expensive than metal vessels. It is therefore earnestly recommended to the planters to discard these and copper vessels from their hospitals and kitchens, and substitute tin: they may be supplied by Jones and Co. tinmen, *Tottenham Court Road.*

The hospital ought also to be supplied

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with

with lancets, a pint clyster syringe, a common garden pump painted, and a long leather tube, and a clyster-pipe with a shoulder fitted to it, and one of *Mudge's* tin steaming-pots. All these will be supplied by *Jones and Co.* Mr. *Jones* having had the Author's directions for fitting the garden pump. There ought also to be a set of small scales and weights, and a *tin* bathing vessel, in every hospital.

All these articles, even the syringe, garden pump, steaming pot, and scales and weights, ought to be found at the proprietor's expence, the emolument of the medical men being already too small.

The nurse ought to be locked up every night with the sick, and punished, if it is found that she escapes by any of the windows.

It would not be a degrading employment of the mistress of the plantation, or the manager's wife, to visit the sick house frequently, and see that the medical man's orders

ders are strictly obeyed. And he ought to have a book, in which he is to enter directions for the use of food and medicine; and whensoever medicines are sent for to the apothecary's shop, the book ought always to be sent. It would contribute very much to the information of the medical man, if he entered his prescriptions in this book, and had a set of shop *formulae*.

A stock of the most capital remedies should be lodged at each plantation, and directions for their use entered in the sick journal, that, on any sudden emergency, they may be applied. A journal of the most urgent cases ought to be kept in the sick book.

The nurse ought to be past child-bearing, sensible, prudent, and humane; and should be taught to read.

She should be punished severely if she neglects to administer medicines or food regularly.

Nurses are apt to waste the former, and

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embezzle

embezzle the latter ; this ought to be guarded against.

The hospital should be kept very clean, and the beds and sheets aired daily ; and when there is not a sufficient number of sick to occupy every bed, they should be shifted from one bed to another twice a-day, that the heat of the bed, and the noxious effluvia, especially in fevers and infectious diseases, may be avoided as much as possible.

FOODS. The foods of persons in fevers that are not intermittent, should be liquid ; and, during the violence of the fever, little beside drink given. In regular intermittents, however, solid animal food, given in the intermissions chiefly, will very much assist recovery.

There is nothing planters are less attentive to than providing duly for the hospital *.

Much

* It would be worthy of enquiry whether portable soup should not be imported. There is another article which may be

Much of what goes away from the master's table is given away to worthless little favourite slaves about the mansion house, which ought to be reserved for the sick, or such as have lost flesh, though not on the sick list.

The entrails, heads, and feet, of all animals killed for the master's or manager's table, should be appropriated to the sick-house, and the bones chopped up and boiled for broth, adding barley, rice, or flour, with garden stuff.

There ought to be a sufficient supply of vegetable and animal liquids at hand.

DRINKS. There are three kinds of drink peculiarly adapted to the sick house :—wine, punch, and lemonade.

be purchased from the ships of war, and merchant vessels, which is what is called bread dust. Even damaged flour, and rice, if frequently exposed to the sun and air, and if not absolutely spoiled, might be used without injury. Bread dust might be imported from *Great Britain*, or *America*.

Orange

Orange wine may be made cheap in the following manner: Steep the rind of one hundred *Seville* oranges in about thirty gallons of cold water, for twenty-four hours, then draw off of the water about twenty-seven gallons, and add to it eighty-four pounds coarse muscovado sugar, and three gallons and an half of *Seville* orange juice; stir it twice a-day until the sugar is dissolved, and then put it into a cask. It will be sufficiently fermented in two or three months, for the use of the sick house, and indeed preferable to older wine *.

Punch ought to be weak, made of good old rum, and put into a stone bottle, until it ferments, when the extrication of fixible air adds much to its efficacy, The same observation applies to

* The Author had some of this wine, prepared with lump sugar, carried from *Guildford* to *Antigua*, it being what he had made for his own house, before he knew that he should ever revisit that country. His worthy and estimable friend *Alderman Oliver*, preferred it to every other wine. It was a ridiculous prejudice which led some physicians of the last age to reprobate *made* wines. Are not *cyder*, *perry*, and *beer*, made *wines*?

Lemonade,

Lemonade, which acquires a spirituous nature by its fermentation. Both are to be made with coarse sugar.

It need scarcely be observed, that these articles ought not to be entrusted to the nurse; but a White person should attend at stated times, and see them given to the sick, according to the directions on the sick book*.

Independent of a high sense of duty with which every responsible being ought to be impressed, the interest of the planter is much concerned in the care of his sick slaves; not merely for the preservation of their lives, but for the speedy and effectual restoration of health.

In vain will the medical man administer remedies, if the dietetic regimen, and the

* A French chemist has given some hints for making a wine from the cane juice; and indeed all liquors susceptible of fermentation can be converted into wine.

acommodation of the sick, are not made objects of the strictest care.

A. does not hesitate to pronounce, that one third of those who are destroyed by disease, might be saved by proper management.

The great point is to preserve the constitution from the ravages of disease, so as that no relicks shall lay a foundation for future diseases. A sickly slave is a heavy burden upon the proprietor; and, perhaps, it were better for both, had he been snatched off at once.

During the prevailing flux at *Antigua* for six years, hundreds of slaves were lost from want of proper necessaries.

Mr. Willock, an eminent planter and merchant, consulted *A.* who requested that *Dr. Atbill*, senior, might also attend, to consult with the gentleman who had the care of the plantation.

A more

A more deplorable scene never presented itself,

(*Quam quæ ipse miserrimam vidi, et cujus pars magna fui.*)

and the medical men were employed several hours twice a-day, in examining, and prescribing for the sick.

Mr. Willock, who is a very humane man, and wealthy, desired that no expence should be spared; and indeed his expence was immense.

The first step recommended by A. was to class the sick, and separate those whose illness had just commenced, or who were upon their recovery, from those who were very ill.

By this means the infectious effluvia operated with less force, and the extension of this destructive disease was checked.

But though other planters were equally well disposed to accomodate their slaves, many had it not in their power. There had been a long succession of dry weather, and vegetation was almost totally stopped.

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The imported provisions were very dear, and often bad in their kind; and the *American* war rendered the importation very precarious.

One Lady, Mrs. *Grant Gordon**, whose estate was partly mountainous, cultivated the *Ochra* plant very assiduously.

The pod of this mucilaginous and very nourishing plant, being boiled up with a portion of salted beef, pork, or salt fish, and given, not only to the sick slaves, but those also who were drooping, was of great use; for few were, comparative-

* Those who have the honour and pleasure of knowing this lady, will not accuse the author of being guilty of exaggeration, when he avers that he never knew a woman of superior understanding; or who fulfilled all the relative duties of life with more fidelity. Her conduct to her slaves was steady, but humane. As a skilful planter in every respect, she had no superior; and though descended from a family of the highest rank below nobility, and born and bred in this country, she condescended to inspect, and direct, the management of her estate, with unceasing industry.

ly,

ly, seized with the disease, and very few died.

Fermented drinks were of great use. As too many of the estates were directed by careless managers, *A.* during the first year, seldom travelled without half a pint of *Madeira* wine in his pocket; and, particularly in *one* plantation, he firmly believes he saved the lives of some slaves by giving them a few spoonfuls of it at times.

Worn down by fatigue, mortified by the loss of so many patients, enraged at the inhuman neglect of some persons, *A.*'s mind was kept in a perpetual ferment by complaints and remonstrances, often unavailing; nor were the large emoluments of his profession any adequate compensation; for he would rather be a shoe-black, than again go through six years of such a scene, to obtain millions. Even at the distance of eight years, his nights have been often disturbed by the recollection of

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those

those dreadful times, until evils of another, but not less distressing, cast, superadded their influence on a lively imagination, an irritable mind, and a sympathizing heart.

C H A P. XVI.

*General Observations on the Oeconomy
of the Human Body.*

THE Author's ideas of the nature of the diseases concerning which he proposes to offer a few practical hints, will be better understood after a perusal of the following remarks; which, as they are philosophical as well as medical, may amuse and inform even *unmedical* readers, especially as all men are equally interested in the preservation of health and life: therefore half an hour spent in the perusal of these outlines of medical principles may not be totally misemployed, either by gentlemen or lady doctors; nor will they thereby be less qualified to practise the art. But the Author's History of the Human Body, published for a charitable purpose, will be still more worthy of perusal, as it is full and explicit, and the Reader will receive much amusement and information from that work.

1st,

1st. The human body is a wonderfully complicated *automaton*, or self-moving machine, consisting of various organs, acting in *different* departments, and forming various systems, which, by co-operation, form one great whole, consisting of soul and body; each of which act on the other.

2dly. It is animated, or is endued with what is termed *life*; which is supported by various movements, performed in the machine, which may either have commenced by the Almighty *fiat*, or in consequence of its own innate powers.

3dly. The animation of the body is intimately connected with its faculty of sensation, or feeling; which, by impressions conveyed to the mind, produces a consciousness of the nature and degree of the impression. The instruments by which these impressions are conveyed are the *brain and nerves*; which constitute what is termed the *nervous system*.

4thly. Connected with this are the senses of seeing, hearing, smelling, taste, and touch; which

which were absolutely necessary for man, that he might discern the nature of many objects which present themselves, for the purpose of selecting such of them as may be useful to him, and avoiding those which might be injurious. This is the *sensitive* system.

5thly. Many of the duties which man ought to perform require that he should have the power of changing place; hence he has the faculty of self-motion. The instruments by which motion is performed are termed *muscles*; which, that they may act with more vigour, are generally fixed to certain hard, inflexible fulcra, or props, which at the same time sustain the body, and defend many of its organs from injuries. This is therefore called the *muscular* system*.

6thly. The construction of man's body required that the external air should have free

* Several muscles are hollow, as the heart, arteries, and the stomach, intestines, bladder, &c. which though not directly attached to bones, are nevertheless indirectly supported by them.

access to and from certain organs of the body: These organs are the larynx, windpipe, and the lungs; and may be termed the system of *respiration*.

7thly. Man being a rational animal, it was necessary he should be able to convey his ideas to others by *speech*; the chief organs of which are the lungs, larynx, mouth, tongue, and teeth.

8thly. To perpetuate his kind, he is supplied, in each sex, with organs for that purpose.

9thly. The human body, like all other machines, is liable to wear and suffer a loss of its parts by its various movements, which must be restored by certain means termed *aliments*; but which however must undergo certain changes, before they are fitted for this purpose. The instruments by which these changes are produced are the teeth, the stomach, and intestines, from which they are conveyed by certain tubes to the various parts of the body. They may be termed the *digestive* system.

10thly.

10thly. This nourishment could not be conveyed unless in a liquid or fluid form by certain canals ; and therefore the body is an hydraulic machine. The instruments employed in conveying this fluid, known by the general term of *blood*, are the *heart* and *arteries* ; but as it was necessary that this precious fluid should not be wasted, it is returned, after serving various purposes, to the great reservoir the *heart* ; which alternately receives it from certain tubes called veins, and by its muscular power pushes it forward again into the arteries ; so that, during life, there is a perpetual circulation of the blood.

11thly. As blood contains the nourishment of the body, it is necessary it should be conveyed by branches of the great arteries to the several organs, in proportion to their bulk, whilst the principal current of circulation goes on, by the return of the blood from those organs to the heart.

12thly. As part of the fluid is deposited in those organs, and does not return again to the heart, we ought to distinguish this distribution

tribution from circulation; and may term it *determination*.

This determination is made for various purposes:

1. To separate the nourishing liquid from the general mass of blood, and apply it to every fibre or thread, to supply the place of such particles as have been rubbed off from it by its motions. This is done by an infinity of small vessels, which pour out a fine liquid into every point or cavity of the body, small or large.

2. To separate certain fluids for the purpose of digesting and preparing our aliments: such are the saliva or spittle, the gastric liquor of the stomach, the bile prepared in the liver and gall bladder; a thin fluid in the intestines, an oily liquor to nourish the bones, and a slimy matter to defend the cavities.

3. But as those parts which are rubbed off from the fibres are become useless, and many parts of the blood become gradually unfit to remain in the body, being rendered noxious
by

by heat and motion, it is necessary they should be discharged out of it. The separating or *secreting* organs having, by a wonderful process, selected these particles, they deliver them to certain tubes called *excretory*, which discharge them from the body. The instruments employed for this purpose are the intestines, the kidneys and urinary bladder, and an infinity of small pores opening on the surface of the body, and into the cells of the lungs; so that by these different outlets some pounds of useless or injurious matter are daily discharged from the body.

But the arterial pores of the skin do not only discharge much fluid matter from the body; but the venous pores suck up a very considerable portion of water, and more subtil matters, not only on the surface of the body, but through the air cells of the lungs; infomuch that the moisture thus sucked up by myriads of those small vessels may amount to some pounds a day. This may be termed the *absorbent* system; and perform their office, like the internal absorbents, by capillary attraction.

Whatever so acts on the nerves of any organ as to produce a certain motion, exertion, or re-action of its muscular * fibres, if it has any, may be termed the *stimulus*, or exciting cause.

This term is derived from a Latin verb, which signifies to rouse, spur on, or excite. Every organ has its *natural stimulus*. Thus blood, by its bulk, heat, and motion, is the natural stimulus of the heart, arteries, and veins—air, of the lungs—light, of the eye—sound, of the ear—palpable objects, of the touch—foods and drinks, of the stomach—the contents of the several secreting and excreting organs are their stimuli, whilst the mind is the stimulus of the muscles, whilst we are awake; but as the preservation of life requires that the motion of the heart and lungs should go on even in sleep, the will

* Some physiologists suppose a peculiar inherent power in muscular fibres, owing to their structure, by which they re-act on the application of stimulus; but the term *irritability* is applied equally to this, and that which arises from nervous energy.

has

has little or no power over those organs, or the circulation and its dependencies.

But these natural and healthful stimuli may become the cause of disease by an increase or diminution of their bulk or motion, or by some change of their qualities, as will be seen hereafter. There are also many preternatural or morbid causes which often produce those changes in the natural stimuli: even remedies may in this way become poisons.

Health, therefore, seems to consist in a certain proportion between the organs and their natural stimuli; and in a due correspondence between the various organs and systems; inasmuch that a free intercourse be kept up between them, that they may exactly co-operate, assist, and sustain each other; they being only links of one great chain. This intercourse is chiefly supported by the influence of the brain and nerves, by means of what is termed *sympathy*; the operation of which is scarcely discernible in health, but constitutes the chief symptoms of diseases.—

Disease

Disease, in the reverse of these; and death, in the total suspension of them.

We proceed now to offer some remarks on the general causes of disease; premising, that beside certain faults of the natural stimuli, there are others which may be termed preternatural, or morbid.

1st. Diseases commonly called *nervous*: though none such really exist, such being so termed as depend more on an excess or defect of irritability than on any other apparent cause, and therefore may proceed from the body in general, or particular organs, being too irritable, either from constitution or from disease; or from their being disagreeably affected by some change in the natural stimuli, or other causes. Thus violent passions, strong noises, &c. produce hysterical fits; teething, worms, and the infection of the small-pox, convulsions in children; and a wound, tetanus; and also various commotions in particular organs, as palpitation of the heart, cough and asthma in the lungs, one species of sickness and vomiting

vomiting, head-ach, &c.: or if the irritability of any organs be lessened by disease, apoplexy and palsies of the extremities take place; besides various degrees of it in different organs, as one species of fainting, difficulty of breathing, indigestion, costiveness, &c.

2dly. The *sensitive system* may be injured when the natural stimuli act too powerfully; as the eye, by a glare of light; the ear, by violent sounds, &c. beside many other morbid stimuli: or those organs may be rendered too irritable by disease, and disagreeably affected by their natural stimuli: thus an inflamed eye cannot bear the least light: or the structure of these organs may be so impaired, as that their natural stimuli can make no impression upon them, as in blind and deaf persons.

3dly. The *muscular system* is affected by all the causes mentioned No. 1.

4thly. The system of *respiration* may be affected when its natural stimulus, the air, has acquired some improper quality; as being

ing too hot, cold, moist, dry, &c.; or tainted by noxious vapours; or the organs may be so delicate and irritable as to be disordered even by their natural stimuli; as in some kinds of cough: or they may be unable to perform their functions from a paralytic weakness of any of these organs; or from the access of their natural stimulus being intercepted, as in inflammation of the larynx, lungs, and asthma.

5thly. The stimuli of the *digestive* system may offend by their bulk or quality, as from excess of foods or drinks taken into the stomach: or their stimuli may be unwholesome in their nature, or not sufficiently nutritive: or the stomach and bowels may be too irritable, weak, or torpid, from disease, and therefore unable to perform the office of digestion, and chylication; which faults are generally accompanied by a depraved state of the digestive humours.

The *circulating, determining, secretory, and excretory* systems are so intimately connected, that, for the sake of brevity, they will be considered together.

6thly

6thly. *Circulation* may be too rapid, or too slow; too strong, or too weak, or it may take a wrong direction; that is, too much or too little blood may be *determined* to particular organs; and consequently,

7thly. *Determination*, which depends on circulation, may be too much increased or diminished, suddenly, or slowly; and from these faults proceed a multitude of diseases.

8thly. The *secretory and excretory systems* must, *in general*, depend on the degree of determination, and therefore will be affected by the same causes.

The natural stimuli of the different organs may exceed in quantity. Too much blood in the body may be one cause of fever; too little, will render the circulation too weak, as after great loss of blood by wounds, &c.

The blood may be faulty with respect to some of its qualities; it may be too dense, or too thin, too acid or sharp, or not sufficiently pungent or stimulating; or it may be

C c tainted

tainted with various infections of small pox, measles, malignant and putrid fevers, plague, &c. *.

9thly. *Determination* may be suddenly increased two ways ; either from an increased stimulus begun in the heart pushing on the blood too rapidly, by which particular organs are overloaded ; as when general fever produces inflammation in particular organs ; or it may begin in the organ itself, when the passage of the blood from it to the heart is suddenly checked by various causes, as in pleurisy, &c. Inflammation may therefore be termed a fever of a particular organ, from violent stimulus applied to its arteries.

* To enter here into the causes of the different species of fever, would carry the reader into a very wide field of discussion. Fevers are said to be high or low, according to the strength of the constitution, and especially of the heart ; and the degree of morbid stimulus, combined. If the stimulus is weak, the fever will be but slight, even in a strong man. If the stimulus is strong, even in a weak constitution, the fever may be violent ; as when a delicate person drinks a great quantity of spiritous liquors. As for those fevers termed malignant, putrid, &c. they depend on particular taints of the blood.

It

It may be slowly increased, either by the fine fluid secreted for the purpose of nourishing and moistening the fibres and cavities not being taken up again, or absorbed, in proportion as it is secreted; hence various kinds of *dropsy*. Or the grosser part, may be left behind, and acquire more or less of a solid form, as in different kinds of sluggish tumours, as *schirrus*, *scrophula*, &c. and if the humours are tainted, and stimulate the vessels, they may inflame, and ulcerate, as when *schirrus* becomes cancerous.

Determination may be suddenly diminished, as when by a sudden constriction of the vessels of the surface of the body, the passage of the blood is intercepted, as in the cold fit of a fever. It may be slowly diminished, as in the wasting of a palsied limb. It may be depraved, as when the nourishment, instead of being equally distributed to the different organs, is carried off by profuse discharges, by the bowels, the kidneys, or the skin, in various diseases attended with a waste of flesh and strength.

10thly. Secretion and excretion depend on circulation and determination ; and yet they are not encreased in proportion, but often the reverse. Thus when the intestines are inflamed, they are also generally constipated ; when the kidneys are inflamed, the urine is more sparing ; and in high fevers, all the internal secretions, as of the mouth, throat, tongue, &c. are diminished, as also the excretions. This seems to be owing to the red arteries transmitting their blood so rapidly into the red veins, that there is not time for the thinner fluids to be separated. Secretions and excretions may be depraved, as in rheumy coughs, small pox, measles, itch, leprosy, St. Anthony's fire, ulcers, &c. from various kinds of acrimony of the humours ; or by the deposition and hardening of the grosser parts, as waxy concretions in the gall bladder, stone in the kidneys, gouty chalk stones, or when part of the heart or arteries become boney.

Absorption may therefore be the cause of many diseases, when it is deficient ; and is
more

more frequently so in excessive internal secretion.

But absorption may be an accidental cause of many diseases; as when the absorbent vessels of the skin or lungs suck up any infectious or putrid effluvia from the surrounding atmosphere, for it is in this way all infection is received, or by the vessels of the nostrils, mouth, throat, and stomach.

Sympathy. The influence of sympathy is wonderful, and most apparent in disease: it depends very much on the nervous system, and produces a multiplicity of symptoms in parts very remote from the seat of disease. Thus sickness of stomach produces nervous head-ach, and *vice versa*; a stone in the kidney, or a gall-stone, produce vomiting; teething, or worms, convulsions; poison in the stomach, fainting apoplexy and convulsion; the lead colic, palsy, &c.

Fevers produced by inflammation, rheumatism, or gout, may be deemed symptomatic, as proceeding from excess of pain acting as a stimulus to the heart.

There

There is also an indirect sympathy produced by the correspondence of the different organs by means of the circulation; an instance of which we have in inflammation of the lungs, or other organs, when the resistance of the vessels of the inflamed organ to the propelling power of the heart, obliges it to re-act with redoubled force, and produce fever to overcome the resistance: hence we can also account why, when a person catches cold, a fever is often the consequence; for a stoppage of the pores resists free circulation.

Excess of determination must always be the consequence of its being diminished, and the reverse; for the cavities accommodate themselves to their contents, and if they are denied a free passage through one organ, the overplus must be thrown on another. Hence the multiplicity of symptoms in fever; as head-ach, pains in the back, sickness, vomiting, difficult breathing, heat, thirst, &c. and the organ on which the surplus is discharged with most violence, becomes diseased in its turn. Hence inflammations of
the

the brain, and even of the heart, proceeding from an inflammation of the lungs; and hence it is that new morbid determinations arise and increase the danger, unless some vessels burst, and discharge blood; or some of the excretions are greatly increased, and avert the danger. Hence also it is, that when one excretion is too sparing, it is compensated for by increase of another.

Some physicians assert, that there is a sapient directing power in the human body, termed *nature*, which, if left to herself, is sufficient for the cure of diseases. But this *vis medicatrix* exists not; or, when a febrile stimulus acts on the heart, why should she increase the evil by increasing its force? When a stone is in the kidneys, or gall-badder, why produce vomiting, which may increase the evil? When the brain is inflamed, why, instead of producing fever, does she not burst open the blood-vessels of the nose, and relieve her ward by a safe and salutary discharge?

To obviate or remove the many evils to
which

which the body is subject, the Supreme Being has supplied means of relief.

1st. If the heart and various systems are too violently stimulated, either by their natural stimuli, or by any other, the means of relief must consist in either lessening the natural stimuli, or in employing such means as are of a contrary nature*. The first consists in *regimen*; a most important part of medicine.

Thus we know that exercise, animal foods, strong drinks, light, heat, watching, and strong passions, are stimulants, therefore to be opposed by their contraries: these may be termed *negative* sedatives, being merely the abstraction of stimulus.—Or

* It would be improper to discuss the question here, whether there are any positive sedatives (the term derived from a *Latin* verb, meaning to allay, mitigate, or abate stimulus), or whether they are nothing more than lower kinds of stimuli, or rather an abstraction or negation of stimulus. It is sufficient, for practical purposes, that they have all the effects of positive sedatives.

Such

Such as absolutely weaken the powers of the heart, circulation, and determination; not merely by lessening the whole mass of blood, as by bleeding; but by giving such remedies as may weaken and counteract the effects of the morbid stimuli, as nitre, and other neutral salts, acids, &c. These may be termed *positive* sedatives.

2dly. It having, however, been remarked, that the faults of determination are the chief sources of disease, we ought to be a little more minute on this subject.

When increased determination to any one organ is very violent, as in inflammation, &c. we endeavour to counteract it on the general principles of revulsion and derivation.—This is done in various ways.

1st. By large bleeding, which by weakening the impulsive power of the heart, lessens the determination to the oppressed organ.

2dly. By opening those secretions and excretions

excretions which have been found to be deficient; not merely by restoring them to their natural state, but by augmenting them much beyond their natural quantity: hence the benefit of repeated purgatives, diuretics, and sudorifics, in high fevers and inflammations.

3dly. When the internal secretions are morbidly increased, as in dropy, the stagnant fluid is diverted to some of the excretory organs by emetics, purgatives, &c. which increase its absorption. By means of absorption also, remedies may be conveyed into the body; hence the use of the medicated warm bath, vapours to the lungs, &c.; and even nourishment has been conveyed in this way.

4thly. When blood is preternaturally discharged from any cavity; determination of the torrent to other organs, by the means No. 1 and 2, and by such means, called astringents, as may stop the orifices of the bleeding vessels.

5thly. When any of the excretions are preter-

preternaturally increased, the most certain relief is to be derived from determining the circulating fluids to other excretions: thus vomits and sudorifics are the chief remedies in diarrhæa and dysentery,

6thly, There is a peculiar tribe of sedatives, which act chiefly on the nervous system, as *opium*, and some others; not by removing the cause, but merely by lessening irritability. Hence they are more safe, the more purely nervous the disease is. It is remarkable, that, in such cases, strong stimulants are often the best sedatives*.

There is another class of sedatives, which act by a softening lenient power; not only mitigating painful irritability, but relaxing the fibres when too tense; as warm water, and warm oil, applied internally or externally.

* There is nothing requires so much skill as the seasonable and safe administration of opium; hence the ignorant often lose the benefit of it by timidity, and often do mischief by administering it rashly. A good treatise on the use and abuse of opium, is still a desideratum in medicine.

7thly. When the circulation is too weak, it is increased.

1. By stimulants, or such remedies as increase irritability.

2. By such remedies as permanently increase the firmness of the organs; as Peruvian bark, &c. with a strengthening diet of animal food, wine, &c*.

8thly. When the sensibility of any organ is diminished or lost, as in various degrees of palsy; the means, No. 1, 2, before recited, are beneficial.

* Vide the Author's Second Edition of Medical Cautions.

C H A P. XVII.

Introduction to the Medical Management of West India Diseases.

IT may seem to be improper, or superfluous, to treat of the cure of diseases, in a book which will be read by persons not of the profession; though some hints on the other circumstances of management might be proper.

But the reader will probably be surprised, when told, that this and the preceding chapters are partly inserted for the information of persons who are not professionally medical*.

* There are few *West Indians* who have not dipped into popular treatises on medicine; they will therefore find little difficulty in understanding as much of the medical observations, not indeed as prescribers, but as judges of the propriety of the practice of those they employ, as will render a perusal useful to them.

Every

Every *West India* planter ought, in some degree, to be a physician; and for this various reasons may be assigned:

1st. He has the lives and healths of a very large family to superintend; and he ought ever to hold in mind, that he is the *responsible* parent of his slaves, as much as of his legitimate offspring.

2dly. In cases of emergency, the medical assistant may not be at hand, and he must become his substitute.

3dly. The planter will be able to form a judgment of the skill and practice of the medical man who attends his slaves: many young adventurers go to the *West Indies*, not well qualified, either by education or experience, for discharging their duty; and it is to their care chiefly sick slaves are committed.

The Author, therefore, with that sincerity which he deems to be his indispensable duty, has pointed out what he has considered

dered his errors in practice respecting a class of diseases, of all the most rapid in their progress, and fatal in their effects; viz. fevers of every kind. In explaining those errors, he has been obliged to adopt a mode of reasoning not quite intelligible to ordinary readers, but this was unavoidable; the result however may be understood, and this was his chief motive for writing this chapter; and which he leaves as a legacy to his brethren, and his country.

And here it may be proper to remark, that there is a very great defect in the law of *Antigua* respecting medical men.

No man is required to undergo an examination until he intends to practise for himself; and even that examination is frivolous; though when the Author was appointed an examiner, which was only once, he thought himself bound, in conscience, to subject the candidate to a very rigid examination.

But the absurdity of permitting a man to
practise

practise as an assistant, without previous examination, is obvious ; for though his employer is responsible, yet he cannot confer knowledge on that assistant, who may in a course of years do much mischief, in consequence of his ignorance.

A new law ought therefore to be enacted, and *A.* will certainly propose it immediately after his arrival, obliging every medical man, before he employs an assistant, to apply to the governor and council for an order for his examination ; and the examiners, who ought to be men of the first character, shall be required to take an oath that they will examine rigidly, and report faithfully ; otherwise good-natured men will, as has happened, be induced to overlook deficiency, lest they should injure the reputation and future fortune of the candidate. It may be proper also to administer to him an oath, that if he knows of any act of cruelty committed by a White person on a slave, he shall report the same to a magistrate within the district ; and, if *he* does not take due notice of it, to the next court of sessions, with the name of
the

the magistrate who refused to do his duty. This is more necessary, because one or two instances have, it is said, occurred, where murders have been omitted to be enquired into, merely out of tenderness to the perpetrator*.

* Formerly the medical man was examined before the captain general and council, by a physician, who was one of that board. It was customary for any member to ask of the candidate what questions he thought proper. A candidate, related to the examining doctor, was so ignorant, that he could not make a satisfactory answer to any one question; and yet he was licensed, on a promise of the doctor that he should practise under his direction. This man, on account of his connections, had most extensive employment, and survived the doctor many years; but had he not, it was impossible he could have benefited by his instructions.

C H A P. XVIII.

Treatment of Particular Diseases.

I. FEVERS.

THE nature of fevers is not only more simple, but more akin to what are called inflammatory diseases, than is commonly supposed.

The truth seems to be, that the instant morbid determination takes place, one or more organs become oppressed with too much blood. Hence the head-ach, pains in the back, limbs, sickness at stomach, difficulty of breathing, &c.

If those symptoms continue and increase in any one organ, it is become a real inflammatory disease, in no respect different, except in degree, from what is commonly called a pleurisy, or any other local inflammation. But it always happens in common fevers,

fevers, that the morbid determination takes place more slowly in particular organs, than in what is commonly called *inflammation*, and is consequently more severe and dangerous about the end of the fever; and we find, therefore, the abatements are less discernible, and continue a shorter time, as the disease advances: so that, when a patient dies of a general fever, he is very often destroyed by a local inflammation, either of the brain, lungs, heart, or bowels, as much as if he had died by that disease, which begins with a pain of the side, shortness of breath, with cough, &c.

There is a circumstance which alters the nature of common fever, and which well deserves to be taken notice of.

This circumstance is **ACRIMONY**, which is of two kinds:

1st. That which already exists in the habit, and produces St. Anthony's fire, lues venerea, different kinds of leprosy, and cancer; and, in short, all those diseases which

are vulgarly said to proceed from foul humours.

2dly. That kind of *acrimony*, which is commonly called **CONTAGION**, or infection, proceeding from certain effluvia, or miasmata, of a noxious nature, and which generally produce disease, according to the nature of the noxious effluvia, whether of small-pox, measles, malignant fever, dysentery, plague, &c.

The propriety of applying the term *acrimony*, in this sense, may be called in question; but an author, provided he explains his terms, has a right to adopt such as he thinks proper. The term *generally* is employed, because we know that though the body may be exposed to any, or all, of these contagions, they do not always produce consequent disease.

It would be waste of time to attempt to account for this, the fact is however undoubted; and happy it is for mankind that the **SUPREME** has so ordered it, otherwise

wise depopulation of a country must be the consequence ; and the sick must, therefore, be deprived of every kind of assistance.

There is one circumstance worthy of notice, which is, that the poison (for so it may be deemed) of St. ANTHONY'S FIRE, *particularly*, and all those taken notice of under CONTAGION, have a direct tendency to weaken the bodily strength, and depress the spirits of the patients, owing to a certain *venomous* impression they make on the brain, and the nerves of particular organs ; and this it is that gives the fever a different appearance.

It is not certain whether the other kinds of acrimony make any noxious change on the nerves in fevers ; it is more probable, however, that they do, in a lower degree. How far that change in the humours, which is termed *putridity*, may be deemed acrimony, is of no great consequence ; it certainly takes place less frequently in the intertropical fevers than is commonly imagined.

H. LOCAL

II. LOCAL INFLAMMATIONS.

The following circumstances need only be taken notice of, in comparing fever with inflammation:

1st. *Local* Inflammation terminates either in resolution, the formation of matter, or in mortification. Fever sometimes terminates in the second, rarely in the third; because the inflammation being less rapid in its progress, the patient generally dies before the second or third stage comes on. This may be termed chronic inflammation, only respecting the slowness of its progress.

2dly. The abatement, remission, or intermission of the symptoms are less evident, and of shorter duration, in inflammation than in fever.

3dly. Acrimony is sometimes mixed with inflammation; as in small-pox, measles, and St. Anthony's fire.

Cure

Cure of Fever and Inflammation.

From what has been said above, it may be inferred, that the cure can only be different, either so far as depends upon the degree of those diseases, or their being, or not being, accompanied with the effects of contagion.

The method of cure must be grounded, therefore, on the necessity of removing, or preventing, inflammation.

INFLAMMATION, as an original disease, and beginning in a particular organ, and as being more rapid in its progress, requires that we be more assiduous in the use of the necessary means, and that they be as powerful as the safety of the patient will permit.

BLEEDING is deemed, and in general justly, a principal remedy in *Inflammations*.

Under the Torrid Zone, however, it must be used more sparingly than in colder climates.

mates. One large bleeding, as early as possible, so as to bring on a slight fainting, will be of more avail than small repeated bleedings.

In *fevers*, commonly so called, especially the *yellow fever*, if the patient is stout and *plethoric*, one large bleeding may be of use, early; but as the disease seems to be rather an *erysipelatoſe* inflammation of the investing membrane of the liver, and of the stomach, and sometimes the intestines, it ought not to be classed with fevers. When the inflammation, of whatever nature it may be, is reduced, the remaining disease is to be treated as fever. The next step to be pursued is to empty the stomach and bowels as soon as possible. The following purge ought always to be kept ready in the hospital:

No. 1. R. Sal. Cathart. Glauber. Uncias quatuor;

Tartar. Emetic. Grana quatuor.

Solve in lb. ij. liquoris *fermented lemonade* dicti.

of.

Of this, whether the disease be fever or inflammation, three table spoonfuls may be given at first, and two table spoonfuls every two hours after, till the patient is smartly purged.

If the inflammation or fever are not considerably abated by the purgative given the preceding day, it ought to be repeated next morning.

In the yellow fever, and in remittent quotidian, semetertians, and tertians, which are often very rapid in their progress, and fatal in the issue, and frequently accompanied with enormous vomitings, in such cases the following is preferable.

No. 2. R. Succ. Limon (vel fruct. Lime dict.) Unc. quindecim.

Sal. Tartar. q. i. adplen. Saturat.

Spirit. Sacchar. veter. Unc. unam:

vel

Tinct. Jalap. Unciæ demidium. M.

F f

But

But should this not be retained, two grains of solid opium in a pill ought to be given every two or three hours, until that symptom (the vomiting) ceases; for there can be no safety for the patient until it does; because it deprives him of the benefit of both food and medicine. In the mean time a clyster may be injected, of strong soap suds, and half a dram of gamboge, to empty the bowels by a strong stimulus; and it may be repeated every two or three hours till the purpose is effected. When the stomach is quiet, the purgative should be repeated.

The salt of wormwood contains an empyreumatic oil, and ought therefore never to be used in fevers. Of this mixture a quarter of a pint may be given at first, and half the quantity every hour or two hours after, till it purges briskly. The lemon juice may be saturated with magnesia, omitting the tincture of jalap, and substituting half the quantity of spirit nitri dulc. A decoction of cremor tartar, with tamarinds, is also a good purge in these cases. In dry seasons half the

the quantity of the acid may be added to as much water.

It may be proper to remind the reader, that there is a circumstance in all diseases, those especially accompanied with fever, which has been very little attended to, though of great importance.

We know that in health there is a perpetual exhalation, not only into every cavity, but even the interstices of every muscular and membraneous fibre. This exhalation takes place from the external surface of every external organ, and of the membranes which invest and surround them. Into those different cavities, including the air cells of the lungs, the secretion is probably greater than that of the perspirable matter, from the surface of the body.

But in no class of diseases are the secretions and excretions so irregular as in the febrile, and to this circumstance it is, we are to attribute those morbid, and often inflammatory determinations and congestions in par-

ticular organs. The reason of this seems to be, that as a regular and slow circulation is necessary to healthy secretion and excretion, so an irregular, tumultuous, and rapid motion of the blood, produces the contrary effects.

These remarks being premised, we can account why purgatives, on the commencement of these diseases are so beneficial.

1st. By encreasing two large excretions, viz. by the intestines and kidneys, they divert the determination from the diseased organs.

2dly. They carry off any offensive matter which may be lodged in the intestinal canal.

3dly. They weaken the power of the heart, and the rapidity of circulation, and consequently the fever. And

4thly. By these means enable the secretory and excretory organs to perform their functions in a more regular and effectual manner ;

manner: But this effect is more certainly produced, if they vomit gently, and sweat is produced; for of all excretions, sweat is the most natural crisis of fevers. A repetition of the purgative and calomel may be proper, so long as the symptoms of local inflammation or of general fever continue severe; that is in the latter, if constant head ach, delirium, stupor, oppressed breathing, or tension of the belly, shew that inflammatory congestion is rapidly increasing in one or other of the cavities; but should those symptoms be moderate, or if they abate considerably, it will be sufficient to keep the belly open by clysters, assisted by the antimonial solution, No. 6.

Whether in local inflammation, or in a remittent, where the heat and head-ach are considerable, the following may be used. No. 3. R Calomel ppt. grana sex. Pil. Saponac. grana quatuor, Syr. q. f. f. Pil. ij. h. f. f. Here just so much opium is joined as to prevent its purging in the night.

It may not be improper to point out the hazard

hazard that may arise from administering crude calomel.

The author having a young English officer, one of his family, ill, at *Leyden*, went to an apothecary's shop to direct some calomel for him. The fellow not knowing the distinction, would have simply powdered the crude calomel; and the consequences might have been fatal.

Mercury has a surprising power of checking inflammation, not only as appears from its efficacy in the *Hepatitis* of the *East Indies*; but in an endemic pluropneumony in *Antigua*, joined with a grain (more or less) of opium. It was remarkable, that so soon as the mouth became sore, the inflammatory symptoms abated. *A.* has sometimes given the following at night after the purging:

No 4. R Calomel ppt. grana quatuor.

Pilul Saponac. gr. quindecim.

Tart. Emet. gr. $\frac{1}{4}$ vel.

Ipecac. gr. duo.

Syr. q. s. f Pilul. No. duæ.

It will not be improper to mention here a curious fact.

A's brother-in-law, and a stout plethoric servant maid in his house, were seized with most violent coughs. The woman was bled, and both took a large dose of calomel, with opium; the gums of both were made sore by the calomel, and the cough ceased almost instantly.

It is well known that Dr. *James* added a portion of mercury to his powder, when he first prepared it; but it having, in some patients, brought on a spitting, he omitted it, and the remedy was rendered less effectual.

Every physician knows that catarrhal coughs are only lesser degrees of pleuropneumony, and that if neglected in the beginning, they often end in consumption. It has been before observed, that the Negro slaves often fall a sacrifice to this disease in consequence of night walking; it is therefore of the utmost importance that recent coughs be checked early.

Some

Some hints will hereafter be given concerning the treatment of a recent Phthisis Pulmonalis.

But to return to the relative treatment of fever and inflammation.

If the symptoms of either are much abated, either by the first or second purgative; or if the fever is of the low kind, bathing the legs in warm water for half an hour in the evening, and the following opiate at bed-time, may be of use.

No. 5. R Pilul. Saponac. gr. viginti.
Pulv. Ipecac. gr. unum M. accurate,
& divid. in pilul. No. iij quarum capiat duas h. f. & Pil. residuam circa mediam noctem absente somno.

The opiate is, or is not, to be repeated, according to the effect; if it has produced quiet sleep, and the patient is much refreshed by it, it may be given less frequently; because, excepting regular agues, there is no
kind

kind of feverish illness in which large doses of opium may not sometimes be injurious, unless its effects be carefully watched.

A nauseating dose of No. 6, or No. 7, may be given after each dose of the opiate, or with it, so that the consequent vomiting shall not be severe, and that the antimonial and opium shall by their united powers, open the skin. More will be said of the use of opium in fevers hereafter.

Physicians know that there is not a more distressing, debilitating, and dangerous symptom than want of sleep, especially in fevers. This is owing to two causes. Sleep is the means by which the body is recruited even in health; but as the labour imposed on the body by fever, is greater than that of any corporeal exercise in health; so sleep is more necessary under disease, than in the highest health.

The second cause is, that as nothing increases morbid determination so much as want of sleep, especially to the head; the in-

G g

inflammatory

inflammatory tendency of any particular organ is much increased by it; and in the increase of inflammation in this particular organ consists the chief danger in fevers. In either case, the following remedies may be given, as the most certain means of obviating future danger.

No. 6. R. Tartari Emetici grana duo.
Tincturæ Thebaicæ drach. duas.
Aquæ fontanæ uncias sex Misce.

Capiat Cochleare unum ad duo
alternis vel tertiis horis, ita ut
nausea singulis vicibus excitetur.

This will answer the purpose very well as a common fever medicine in local inflammations, and in general fevers, unless the pulse is high, and the heat great; in this case, the opium is only to be given in such a proportion as to give a gentle determination to the skin, without checking the nausea.

There is a great error committed in the administration of these active antimonials; which is, by omitting to increase the dose at every

every repetition, unless the former dose has produced some nausea. About half a table spoonful, or perhaps somewhat less, will be a sufficient increase of dose: if it produces slight vomiting, so much the better.

When the fever is of the low kind, the following may be preferable:

R Spiritis Mindereri uncias quatuor.

Vini Aurantiorum libram unam.

Tincturæ Thebaicæ drachmas duas.

Vini Ipecacuanhæ uncia semissem, vel,

Tartari Emetici grana duo.

Misce, dosis Cochlearia tria vel quatuor tertiiis vel quartis horis.

We come now to a very important point of medical practice, which does not seem to have been well understood.

It has been remarked, that not only in local inflammation, but in the advance of dangerous remittent fevers, the abatements or remissions are less regular, less frequent, and of shorter duration.

In the remittent fevers of hot climates, it is necessary to begin the use of the bark as soon as the bowels, kidneys, and skin are largely open; because every succeeding fit tends to increase and rivet the inflammation of the diseased organ. The patient, if the time is properly employed, may begin the use of the bark the morning of the third day, or even earlier, if the skin is largely open. It may be given in the quantity of ʒʒ or gr. 40 of the powder of red bark during the remission, every hour and half, or two hours.

When the idea of these fevers, being always of a putrid nature, prevailed, the bark was given in the *West Indies* with a view of checking the progress of supposed putrefaction, rather than of curing the fever.

How happened it that it so rarely succeeded; especially when the head was much affected, or the belly swoln and tense? The true reason seems to be, that it increased the inflammation, now advancing rapidly in proportion as the fever is protracted. As well might we expect that the bark will cure a pleurisy,

pleurisy. In such a stage of the fever, perhaps no means will save the patient; but if the medical man has attended from the beginning, the loss of the patient must, in general, be attributed to his want of skill, or his negligence.

What are the circumstances which render the bark ineffectual or injurious in the remittents of the *West Indies*, and those which prevail in the autumn in *Great Britain*? A rational solution of this query is of great importance. 1st. The want of due purging in the first stage; so necessary for the successful solution of the fever, for reasons assigned. Medical men are often deterred from the purging and the antiphlogistic plan, from the apparent debility of the patient; though this weakness is often solely owing to the depressing effects of some sharp matter in the stomach and bowels, which the purgative will mitigate or remove. Thus deceived, practitioners fly immediately to blisters and cordials, to support the strength; and to bark, to oppose a fictitious putrefaction, with all the secretions and excretions locked up;

up; by which absurd practice all chance of saving the patient is lost. The author does not make this remark lightly, but on repeated experience of the erroneous practice, which, whilst he deplored, it was generally out of his power to rectify. Well assured, however, that he must lose his patient by pursuing the plan of treatment which had been adopted before he was called in, he ventured, even in the advance of the fever, to recur to the purging remedies, mercury, and the active antimonials. He sometimes saved his patient, but even where he failed, it was evidently owing, not to the new plan; but because the mischief was beyond the power of remedy, from the injury sustained by some essential organs; for the patients did not die sooner than they would have done; (as he knew from experience) under the heating regimen, and their sufferings in the last hours of life were more tolerable, than they would have been under the former. It has been remarked before, that sweating is the most favourable termination, and, indeed, the most perfect crisis, of all fevers. Reasons have been given why a salutary

lutary sweat is most effectually to be procured by the previous use of purgatives; and the Author, after more than forty years experience, and now *unfortunately* detached from a possession which he loved, avers, with the conscious integrity of a man, that though in some cases of malignity, or extreme putrescency, and where, happily, congestions in particular organs have been slight, he has seen the bark succeed with a dry tongue and skin; they have been so rare, as to establish rather an exception to, than a rule of, practice; whereas with an open skin, which may always be easily obtained, he has given the bark successfully, even under a high degree of delirium.

It may be here observed, in addition to the remarks on the injudicious use of the bark in remittent fevers; which occur frequently in the autumn in this country, and at all seasons of the year in the hotter climates; that, as has already been observed, one circumstance which renders the use of the bark unsafe, is the dryness of the skin in those fevers.

More

More than forty years ago, and therefore long before Dr. *Linn* suggested the use of opium in agues, a medical man, of the name of *Young*, was in the habit of giving opium in the same way at *Antigua*.

A. then a very young man, adopted and extended the idea, from analogy, to the remittents of that climate; always adding, however, either the ipecacoanha, or the emetic tartar to the opium.

By this combination, two most essential purposes were answered.

It has already been remarked, that want of sleep in fevers, owing to painful and other uneasy sensations, not only weakens the patient exceedingly, but often gives the the disease a fatal tendency.

By quieting those uneasy sensations, sleep is sometimes procured; but when sleep is procured by opium alone, in remittent fevers, it is so far from being in general beneficial, that it may rather be said to produce a kind of apoplectic

apoplectic stupor, or coma; which, by increasing the determination or fluxion upon the brain, and perhaps upon some other vital organs, precipitates the death of the patient.

But when some of the most certain and powerful sudorifics are joined with it, they divert to the skin, promote sweat, the only critical discharge we can depend upon in fevers, and thereby lessen the fluxion on the diseased organs effectually; and they, at the same time, counteract the bad effects of the opium.

But when, in consequence of his confinement in *Winchester* jail, *A.* renewed his acquaintance with his old friend *Dr. Scott*, he found that gentleman had gone far beyond him, in the use of opium in the advanced stages of fever of every kind.

After having emptied the bowels, if necessary, he prescribed to adults about thirty drops of laudanum, with half a grain of emetic tartar, every two, three, or four hours; and, if necessary, a liberal use of Port wine.

H h

He

He was not deterred from the use of opium in this way, even when the patient laboured under a low muttering delirium, with a tendency to coma, and a dry black tongue.

From the history of several cases communicated to *A.* by that gentleman, he is convinced that the patients were thereby snatched from the jaws of death.

Several physicians have lately ventured on the use of opium in fevers; but they seem to have erred, not only in confining its use to once only in twenty-four hours, but still more in not joining it with an active sudorific.

Doctor *S.* added tincture of bark in some of those cases, but merely as a cordial; whereas it is probable that the bark in substance, or the preparation, No. 8. given after the skin was largely open, and the tongue became moist, would have abridged the term of those fevers; for, from what *A.* has remarked, opium certainly has a tendency to protract the period of fevers.

There.

There is, however, one kind of remittent fever, in which the bark may be used with more freedom in any stage of the disease, which is the erysipelatoſe remittent.

How is it to be distinguished ?

1st. From the patient having formerly been subject to this disease.

2dly. From its frequent appearance during the season.

3dly. From the pain being less severe than in the phlegmonic inflammation, accompanied with a certain sensation of burning heat in the organ chiefly affected, especially the stomach and bowels.

4thly. From the fever being of the low malignant kind.

5thly. From the delirium, if any, being less permanent.

6thly. From the remissions being more

distinct than, in such fevers, they usually are at such a period of the disease.—And,

Lastly, as we often take our indications from the *juvantia* and *lædientia*, the symptoms not being increased by the use of the bark*, the following preparation is to be preferred :

No. 8. R Pulv. Cort. Peruv. rubr. unciam
unam, tere assidue per horam,
sensim sensimque affundendo.

Aq. Fontan. uncias duodecim, li-
quor. colat. fortiter express.

adde Sp. Minder. uncias quatuor, &
tempore usus agitando, dosis sit

* From the resemblance between erysipelas and the scarlet malignant fever, generally accompanied with ulceration of the throat, No. 7. will be an useful remedy, as it will not only abate irritation, but open the skin, and promote sweat, the only safe evacuation in such cases, and it merits a fair trial in that dreadful disease commonly termed the yellow-fever; but, from some remarks made above on the use of opium, it is probable the porportion of the tinctura thebaica ought to be increased, and that of the vin. ipecac. and emetic tartar diminished; especially if there should be considerable nausea, or a disposition to purging.

Cochl. quatuor larga alternis vel
tertiis horis remittente præcipue
febre.

If it purges, a few drops of laudanum
may be added to each dose *.

This species of the disease prevails gene-
rally in the autumn in hot climates.

The bark infusion rather sustains the
strength, than remarkably abridges the term
of the fever; though, when the stomach
cannot bear the bark in substance, it will
cure any ague that is curable by the bark.

It is here supposed, that the warm pedi-

* Is the use of the bark warrantable or necessary in any
kind of local inflammation? It has been observed above, that
there is an affinity between erysipelas and the malignant
scarlet fever; and what is commonly called the yellow-fever,
is more properly a malignant erysipelas of the stomach and
liver, sometimes of the intestines; yet No. 8. if it can be
retained, will be very beneficial, and indeed necessary; but
in general inflammations, the bark is rarely useful, until the
inflammatory symptoms are removed, and then it will pro-
mote recovery.

luvium

lunium has been used daily, not only in local inflammations, but in fevers; but when the symptoms become very urgent, the whole bath ought to be tried.

Nothing is said here of the use of blisters; they ought always to be applied as near as possible to the part affected.

A G U E

Is a species of remittent fever, with more distinct and longer intervals; for, if neglected or mismanaged, it often degenerates into an obscure remittent; but more frequently becomes obstinate, chronic, and the parent of other diseases, especially dropsy.

It will not be necessary to say much on a disease, the management of which is so well understood.

1st. The bark, after due evacuations, and afterwards a large dose of opium on the access of each hot fit*, will not always cure

* In the remarks on the use of opium in agues, Dr. Lind advises a dose on the access of the hot fit; but if it does not

cure the disease: in this case the following may be used:

No. 9. R. Pulv. Cort. Peruv. rubr. drachmas
sex.

Canell. alb. Ind. Occident. drach-
mas duas, M. & divid. in dof.
ix. alternis horis in Apyrexia
exhibend.

Two drachms of serpent. virgin. may be substituted for the canella. Sometimes gr. duo vitriol. cærul. may be added. It may only be observed, that the bark waistcoat, or a bath of a strong decoction of bark and black pepper, with a proportion of vitriol cærul, have cured agues in children. The following is now used in the London hospitals; but it is said that symptoms of consumption have sometimes supervened:

not procure sleep, it may be repeated with ipecacoanha, or emetic tartar, every three or four hours, until the fit terminates by a profuse sweat; by this means the fit will be shortened, and the bark more effectual.

No.

No. 10. R. Arsenic. alb. grana duo. Nitr. drachmam
 Aq. font. Uncias decem.
 Tere Arsenicum cum Nitro, adde aquam,
 & stent simul per triduum, dein cola.
 Dosis cochleare largum ter in die.

2dly. When ague is accompanied with visceral obstruction, a dose of calomel once a week, purged off next morning with No. 1. or No. 2. and nauseating doses of ipecacoanha, are the best deobstruents, and will pave the way for the use of the bark. Emetic tartar in pills, and large doses of the powder of calamus aromaticus, have cured agues, where bark has failed. Whilst *A.* was a prisoner in *Winchester* jail, one of the convicts was cured of a quartan by the powder of long pepper, mixed with treacle, after the bark had failed. Tertian and quotidian agues may often be cured without bark.

With respect to the drinks, it need only be remarked, that, when the symptoms in fevers

fevers of any kind run high, any vegetable fops, or the fermented lemonade, are most proper. In low cases, the orange wine, or fermented punch, in any proportion the prescriber shall deem necessary, will be proper*.

* It may be proper here to say something of the use of the *garden pump*. In obstinate, inflammatory, and even spasmodic cholics, common clysters avail little, and even purgatives by the mouth fail. *De Haen* † tell us that a tepid liquid injected by this pump surmounts the valve of the colon, and washes off indurated feces. *A.* has tried it with success, and has saved several lives by it. Dissolve about two ounces of soap in a gallon of hot water—put the solution into a pail—place the pump in it—introduce the pipe, and gently work the pump, so that the liquid may pass gradually. As soon as the patient complains of painful distension, stop, and rub the belly gently to diffuse the liquid, then go on in this way, till the patient has an urgent call to stool. If no indurated feces come away, cold water ought to be dashed on the pubis and hams, and so alternately till the patient is relieved. *N. B.* The liquid will lose part of its heat in passing through the pump and leather tube, and boiling water ought to be added occasionally, to keep the clyster temperately warm. If any hernia, it must be presently reduced.

† Ratio medendi.

I i

Thus

Thus a few of the most important practical remarks on febrile diseases are presented to the consideration of *West India* practitioners; a more minute disquisition on the subject would be improper in this place.

The hectic fever, which occurs under the next head, is symptomatic.

No. III. PHTHISIS PULMONALIS, or Consumption of the Lungs.

Many volumes have been written on this important subject. Various and even opposite methods of cure have been recommended on supposed experience; and whilst some practitioners, and many quacks, have boasted of their almost uniform success, in any stage of the disease, others have, with equal confidence, asserted, that in the advanced stage, it is incurable.

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The Author shall not attempt to reconcile those differences of opinion, but offer his own, resulting from experience, and accurate analogical deduction.

It should seem that there are few diseases more difficult to be ascertained than a phthisis pulmonalis. One cause of this seems to be the difficulty of distinguishing the diagnostic symptoms. Even the criterion between pus and mucus is not sufficient; for the inflamed vessels of the air cells may throw off pus, though there is no phthisis, and during this state of the lungs, there is, generally, fever, which has probably been mistaken for a hectic; whilst, on the other hand, it has been known that persons have laboured under cough, spitting most profusely of a matter apparently purulent, with gradual wasting of flesh and strength, for years; and have at length died of the disease without any hectic fever; for those incidental flushings of the face, and accelerations of the pulse, are often the consequences merely of the stimulus of the food in the stomach

of a weak person; though there is no reason to suspect any purulent affection of the lungs, or of any other organ. It has even been known that persons have survived for years under an almost total destruction of one lobe of the lungs.

What then are the diagnostics of a genuine *phthisis pulmonalis*? Probably hectic fever, recurring, after some interval, once, or even twice, in twenty-four hours, with profuse night sweats, gradual loss of flesh and strength, and a spitting, apparently purulent. Other diagnostics have been drawn from the aspect of the eyes, the teeth, and the factor of the breath, but they are less certain. What is the circumstance in the state of the lungs that seems to render the disease incurable? Probably many tubercles formed in the membrana cellularis of this organ; especially if there be a serophulous taint, and these tubercles undergoing repeated inflammations, by which the vessels are excited to throw off purulent matter; to which may be added inflammation also of the vessels of the

the air cells; for *De Haën* * has plainly proven that inflamed membranes will throw off pus without ulceration, though the destruction of much of the substance of the lungs shews they are sometimes ulcerated.

Is phthisis curable even after the hectic fever is formed? Rarely; and this shews the necessity of paying more attention to recent colds and coughs than is commonly done.

The Author, born of a mother who, as also several of her family, died consumptive, having lost one wife by a phthisis, and another by an hæmorrhage from the lungs; and having himself been more than once on the verge of a confirmed phthisis, and now labouring under a weakness of the lungs from a whooping cough of many months duration, it may be supposed he has attended peculiarly to this disease, and the following is the result of his experience.

After pursuing every probable mode sug-

* Ratio medendi.

gested by authors, even Dr. Griffith's strangely unchymical preparation of myrrh, sal martis, and salt of tartar, without success, he has sometimes cured the disease which he deemed to be phthisis, in the following manner, though he will not aver that he may not have mistaken a confirmed and inveterate *catarrh* for a real phthisis. If he did, he at least prevented its terminating fatally.

1st. By the *vitriolic emetic*, No. 15, given in a wine glass of water, once or twice a day, in such a dose as to vomit once or twice, drinking before and after it about a pint of warm water. It vomits almost instantaneously. The best time for giving it will be about three or four o'clock in the morning, because the matter accumulated in the air cells during sleep, is thereby pumped up more easily and plentifully; and the patient thus relieved has sometimes an hour or two of comfortable sleep. In the note to No. 15, *A.*'s motives for trying it are mentioned. It seemed to check the hectic fever and sweats, to promote expectoration,

tion, and mitigate the cough and dyspnæa. But as the middle of the night is an inconvenient time, though certainly the best, it may be given about seven or eight in the morning, and it has sometimes been repeated once or twice through the day, and again in the evening.

2dly. A *seton* in the side, especially where there is fixed pain, is indispensably necessary. It ought to be cut deep, and the discharge promoted. Even after the patient has recovered, it will be most prudent to keep it open; or substitute a perpetual blister or issue.

3dly. *Perpetual blisters* to the back or sides have been recommended, and *M.* has tried them with some benefit. In a consultation with Dr. Carmichael Smith, that gentleman proposed *caustics*, but it is probable few will submit to the trial.

4thly. *Mineral acid.* The spiritus vitrioli tenuis, diluted by water, should be used plentifully through the night: it diminishes heat,

heat, and checks the tendency to night sweats.

It may be proper to remark here, that hectic heat is considerably abated by *zi. cret. ppt.* in a little water, drinking after it 1 ounce succ. limon, diluted. This may be taken every three or four hours. Though bleeding has, perhaps, been used too freely in this disease, yet when there are fixed pains in any part of the breast, with difficulty of breathing, and considerable fever, much relief has been experienced from taking away four or six ounces of blood. At the commencement of the disease more copious bleeding may be proper.

5thly. *Anodynes*. Where considerably large doses of the extractum hyoscyami, or extr. femin. cicut. will afford a tolerable share of rest, they are to be preferred to opium. Should the latter be found necessary, it may be given at bed-time, and repeated at midnight, if necessary.

6thly. *Aperients*. If the bowels are not sufficiently

ficiently open; a little magnesia, or any neutral salt, may be given.

7thly. The vapour of warm water alone, or with vinegar, or spirit nit. dulc. has been of use, and also fixible air extricated by the effervescence of chalk and vinegar.

8thly. *Sailing and Swinging.* Of the efficacy of sailing, A. has had frequent experience; of the latter once only: they are both useful auxiliaries.

9thly. *Regimen.* The cool and reduced regimen, or total abstinence from animal food and strong drink; and the use of milk, butter-milk, and whey, have been recommended; but of late a case has been published, wherein a contrary regimen is said to have succeeded. But is it certain that this was a phthisis pulmonalis? However, in such desperate cases, when we find that the ordinary mode will not succeed, it certainly will be warrantable to change the plan, and accurately remark its effects.

IV. DYSENTERY

Being an erysipelato-inflammatory, and contagious disease, it is to be treated nearly as the remittent fever. The following has been found to be the most successful. As soon as the disease commenced, or even so soon as the patient began to complain of gripes, two or three spoonfuls of No. 1, were given every hour or two, until the stools were more copious, and less griping: and at bed-time, the following:

No. 11. R Pilul. Saponac. gr. quindecim,
Calomel. ppt. gr. sex.

Pulv. Ipecac. gr. unum cum di-
mido.

Syr. q. f. f. Filul. No. 5. quarum
capiat tres h. f. et duas media
nocte, absente somno, vel ur-
gente alvi dejectione, aliter non.

The purge may be worked off with equal
parts of warm fermented lemonade, and a
decoction of ochra. The food a decoction
of

of the head, feet, or entrails of any animal, in small quantities, but frequently.

Next day the purge, No. 1. to be repeated, and even the third day, if the dejections are still painful and bloody. The mercurial to be repeated twice or thrice, and then the vitr. antimon. cerat. ad gr. quatuor, instead of it and the ipecacoana.

The symptoms having been abated, the following may be given, three or four spoonfuls every three hours.

12 R Rafur. Lign. Quass. Unciæ dimidium
Flor. Chamem. drach. tres infund. in
aq. fontan. lbj. per horas quatuor,
sub inde agitando, et liquori colato
adde, per horam unam assidue te-
rendo.

Pulv. Cort. Peruv. rubri, unciæ dimi-
dium, liquorem fortiter exprime.

Or double the quantity of the bark may be added; and in this case, two spoonfuls, and as much of the common saline mixture may

be given; or if the patient is low, three spoonfuls, with one of spiritus mindereri. In the advanced stage, astringents may be required, but they ought to be avoided as much as possible: the alum, 8 or 10 gr. may be added to each of the draughts: or the cascarilla may be substituted for the quassia and chamomile flowers. The vitriolum album has been recommended. Much greater and more certain advantage is to be expected from keeping up an equal and moderate sweat, by No. 7; for, according to the maxim of *Hippocrates*, the disease is cured, after due evacuants, by changing the habit of determination from the bowels to the skin. None of the remedies which have an evacuating power can be useful in this or any other febrile disease, unless they increase some excretion sensibly.

In case of depression, orange wine, or fermented punch, will be the best cordials.

With respect to clysters, a decoction of ochra, with 30 or 40 drops of tinct. thebaica, may be of use, once or twice a day; and

and where the violence of the disease is abated, and nearly approaches the nature of a diarrhoea, in this case, the infusion of cascarella, adding alum and tinct. thebaic. may be tried as an enema.

There is an external application, which may probably be preferable to warm fomentations, or a blister to the belly; which is the liniment saponac. or olive oil, with opium. With this the spine, loca vacua, and the whole abdomen, may be well rubbed twice a day, and a flannel bandage applied, by which the parts may be kept warm, and the viscera sustained. The warm bath merits a fair trial.

It need scarcely be remarked, how necessary it will be to have the dysenteric patients not only kept apart from others, but those who are very ill, from the convalescents—to have the patient's hands and feet washed with vinegar; the hospital well ventilated and fumigated, and every other precaution taken.

V. NERVOUS DISEASES.

No subject in physiology or pathology is involved in greater obscurity, than the functions of the nervous system, and those perversions of them, which constitute, what are called, nervous diseases. A doctrine will probably be soon offered to the world, the production of a *gentleman* of distinguished abilities, which will set these morbid affections in a new point of view. As his opinions on this subject are closely connected with a most ingenious and elegant system, embracing the whole of physiology and pathology, the author must content himself with only alluding to it here.

This gentleman is of opinion, that the experiments and arguments of Dr. *Haller*, have fully proved the independence of the irritability of the muscular fibre on the nervous system. As the muscular fibre, its functions and diseases, are the objects of our senses, and are open to experimental inquiry,

quiry, he thinks, that even *a priori*, it would be more consonant to the true spirit of philosophical investigation, to search for the causes of many diseases in the irritable solid, than in the nervous system; whose nature and powers have hitherto remained, and will probably long continue, *alta caligine mersæ*.

It is by no means his intention to degrade the nervous system from its supremacy over the functions of the body; or to deny that it is the medium of communication between the soul and material part; that its energy is the exciting cause of muscular motion, and that it is liable to disease; and that, from its connection with the rest of the system, it will mutually affect, and be affected by them. But he wishes to pluck from it those borrowed honours with which it has been decked out, by those who first cultivated the study of it, and to restore them to that other part of the vital solid, to which they justly belong.

He thinks that the increase of irritability, by the deficiency of the natural stimuli, or its diminution or destruction, by their excessive

cessive application, will sufficiently explain the phenomena of many diseases, hitherto deemed nervous : Such are the hysterical disease, hypochondriacism, some species of palsy, &c. And though the author has not yet been sufficiently informed of the proofs of the doctrine to be induced to embrace it, yet he must allow, that it seems not only to be confirmed by the effects of the remedies at present used in these diseases ; but to point out several new modes of practice, which promise to remove some, which have hitherto baffled the utmost efforts of the medical art. It points out, particularly, the extensive application of the passions in the cure of diseases ; and in many instances, the use of a gradation of stimuli, adapted to the remote causes of the morbid affection ; for want of the application of which, some diseases, particularly some species of palsy, which have nothing incurable in their nature, have been rendered so by the remedies applied.

With respect to the author's own practical opinions, he shall observe, that as many nervous diseases consist of repeated paroxysms,
returning

returning at regular or irregular periods, it will be of the utmost consequence in the cure, to attend to a distinction of stimuli, which is certainly well founded, viz. into those whose operation is immediate and violent, but of short duration; and those whose effects are at first scarcely perceptible, but are much more permanently exerted. It will be obvious that the former, as opium, æther, musk, and volatile alkali are adapted to remove the fits of such diseases; as for example, of asthma, or the hysterical affection; while the more durable and permanent, generally called *tonics*, such as bark, copper, iron, and zinc, are proper to prevent their recurrence. Few remedies are more useful with this view than the cold bath; to the consideration of which the Author has allotted a distinct chapter*.

Hæmorrhages.—One or two remarks will be sufficient. The emetic No. 15, will be

* Concerning the treatment of particular nervous diseases, the Author has no other remarks to offer, only that the cold bath, bark, and wine, have been found beneficial in tetanus; and a solution of vitriol. album ʒiij, alum ʒij in ℥ij water, in doses of two or three spoonfuls, in the dry belly ache.

very efficacious to check hæmorrhage from the lungs and the uterus. It may be given repeatedly, every day, according to the urgency of the case. Another observation is, that as the cold bath is often useful in uterine hæmorrhage, it ought not to be omitted, but continued, if the flux returns before the usual period.

VI. CHRONIC DISEASES from glandular and visceral enlargement.

The Boerhaavian pathology attributed almost all the diseases of the human body, even fever and inflammation, to obstruction; or, in other words, to certain impediments to a free passage of the blood or other humours through their different canals. This was attributed, by that great man, to viscidities, lentor, or density of the fluids, which rendered their particles too bulky to pass through the small vessels, on account of their supposed conical form.

The pathologists of this age have fallen into the contrary extreme, and seem to deny the

the truth of this doctrine, attributing almost all diseases to faults of the solids, not of the fluids.

Men, actuated by vanity, and an eager wish to establish an indisputable claim to genius and originality, fall upon the easiest mode of securing fame, by running into a contrary extreme, in quest of new ideas or hypotheses. But on all these occasions—*medio tutissimus ibis.*

Boerhaave certainly assigned too much depravity to the fluids, and did not sufficiently consider the influence of the circulating, secreting, and excreting systems, subjected to the irregularities of the nervous energy.

That diseased organs increase in size or bulk, is beyond all doubt: it is daily evinced by anatomical dissection. This even happens in inflammation; and in chronic diseases much more frequently.

What is the mode by which this is probably effected? Not in the manner generally

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supposed

supposed by the Boerhaavians, viz. the humours blocking up the vessels of the circulating system; but in a way concerning which the modern pathologists, so far as the author knows, have not accounted for satisfactorily.

When he consulted the celebrated Mr. *Hunter*, on the case of a near relation, in a very advanced stage of consumption, that gentleman replied, that the lungs were *too dense*. Unwilling to take up the time of a man which was so precious to his patients and himself, he did not require an explanation of a circumstance concerning which there could be only one opinion.

Of this, however, he has given his opinion in the general pathology; and, from repeated dissections, he is well assured it is the only reasonable solution which can be offered: viz.

If, in the course of morbid determination, there is more fluid effused by the small arteries, than is taken up by the small veins,
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(whether they be or be not lymphatics, for of this new doctrine, in its full extent, he has some doubts) the surplus fluid must take up some space, and consequently enlarge the diseased organ.

If the thinner part is not taken up, various degrees of enlargement, which has a greater or less affinity with dropy, take place; if the thinner part is taken up in different proportions, tumours, of different degrees of hardness, from oedema to the stoney schirrus, are produced.

There is, indeed, one kind of coagulation which certainly takes place in the heart and the large arteries, termed *polypi*, which may be easily accounted for, from supposing a separation of the grosser coagulable lymph from the more fluid principles of the blood. This, for obvious reasons, must always be an incurable disease; though quacks pretend to cure *all* palpitations of the heart, of which this is one species, and no unfrequent one.

Nor are other diseases from this cause to be

be cured in general, though the author thinks that physicians have not afforded their patients a sufficient chance of relief, because they have been mistaken in their indications of cure.

When the author visited the Continent in his various excursions, he found the physicians there, and even the celebrated *Zimmermann*, relied on certain supposed specifically deobstruent powers in the *dens leonis*, or *dandelion*.

But from the most accurate enquiry, he found it had done nothing in confirmed cases,

From a long experience, and accurate analogical deduction, he apprehends that the only chance of relief is, by cautiously and alternately increasing the excretions, by the use of gentle emetics, mercurial purges, diuretics and sudorifics ; changing the battery frequently, so as to empower the overloaded vessels and fibres to re-act upon the stagnant contents, and, with the assistance of the thinner fluids perpetually thrown out, to dissolve them,

them, and render them fit to be taken up by the absorbents, and carried into the circulation.

This frequent and alternate change of determination, he can, from long experience, aver to be of the utmost consequence, if a cure is to be effected.

With respect to those glands, which are so superficial as to be acted on by external applications, as in some affections of the lungs, by different vapours ; and the liver, by mercurial unction and blisters ; such remedies ought undoubtedly to be tried.

Some of the poisons, *hemlock* especially, merit trial ; because, having dissolved scirrhus swellings of the breast, there may be reason to hope they would also succeed in similar internal swellings ; but, above all other remedies, he ventures to recommend the *vitriolum cæruleum*, as a gentle emetic and purgative : what deobstruent power it possesses, he knows not.

But he apprehends, that physicians often plume themselves on having cured visceral obstruction

obstruction which never existed; and have mistaken general laxity and debility for something much worse. He has made some observations on this subject, in his essay on the cold bath; and shall only add, that in these supposed obstructions, means there recommended have succeeded.

These hints, as far as they extend, may be of some importance, especially as thrown out by an old practitioner; and as they have a reference to a very great number of chronic diseases.

VII. CHRONIC ERUPTIVE DISEASES.

The treatment of these diseases is not always successful; those especially of the leprous kind. The mercurials have had a fair trial; but they were generally given in a solid form, and therefore were less soluble in the stomach. The following may be tried:

No. 13. R Mercur. Corrosiv. sublimat. gr.
octo.

Sal. Ammon. drachm. duas.

Aq. font. ℔j M. dosis ʒss bis
terve in die.

But

But it will be more likely to succeed, if, twice or thrice a week, the following is given at bed-time, to promote a moderate sweat :

No. 14. R Pilul. Saponac. gr. quindecim.
Tart. Emetic gr. unum. M.

The arsenic has not yet had a fair trial in these obstinate diseases. In one case of the black scurvy, it certainly alleviated the symptoms ; but by some accident the course was interrupted,

The authors by whom its use was first recommended in cancer, joined it with a considerable proportion of opium ; but in the London hospitals, where it has been used in agues, no opium is given : an opiate may, however, be given to allay any uneasy feelings it may produce in the stomach and bowels.

No. 10. may be as good a formula as any.

There is another remedy which has been tried with success in S. Carolina, and sometimes by *A.* that is the *vitriolum cærul.* It has often cured agues ; and those who have so far

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sometimes

reprobated the humoral pathology, as to alledge that all chronic diseases of this kind depend more on a fault of the secreting vessels, than any acrimony of the fluids, alledge it acts by its tonic power.

But whatever may be the mode of its operation, it ought to have a fair trial given to it. Though it contains copper, it is certainly a very safe medicine : it has been used with success in old ulcers, and is a mild and safe purge.

No. 15. R Vitriol. Cærul. gr. tria.

Solve in Aq. Fontan. uncias duas.

M. f. solutio et per chartam porosam filtra. dosis a guttis v. ad C. addendo gutt. ij. singulis dosibus: Sumatur bis terve in die, ex aq. Picis *

* The use of this remedy was first suggested by Dr. Brooke, of Maryland, who, in a letter to a physician, never printed, declares, that by emetic doses of it, given whenever the patient was seized with a fit of coughing, he has cured confirmed phthisis by it; and found it, when combined with sublimate, an excellent remedy in glandular diseases; especially where a scrophulous taint was suspected. Dr. Lionel Chalmers speaks of its great utility in the colica pictonum.

Instead

Instead of this solution, I have sometimes given from 20 to 60 drops tinct. cantharid.

This combination of vitriolic solution and tar water merits a fairer trial than has hitherto been given to it. It may be given from a quarter of a pint to a pint or more, every day.

In the cure of these obstinate diseases, the following rules are recommended :

1st. Whichsoever of these remedies are tried, they ought to be given in gradually increased doses, until the mercury either brings on a gentle spitting (when it may be desisted from for a time, and one of the others substituted), or the vitriol. cærul. either vomits or purges, when its dose should be lowered, or rather a little opium joined with it. The dose of the arsenic must be increased with great caution, and either lessened or totally omitted.

2dly: These diseases sometimes yield to one kind of alterative when another has fail-

ed ; when, therefore, one has been tried for six weeks or two months, without manifest change for the better, another ought to be substituted.

3dly. The use of the warm bath, at least twice a week, will certainly promote the efficacy of internal remedies : about an ounce of the vitriolum cærul. may be joined with it.

4thly. The antimonial opiate will be a good assistant.

5thly. The food ought to be light and nourishing, and chiefly vegetable, unless the patient be very low.

ON MEDICAL BATHING.

INTRODUCTION.

HEAT and Cold are relative terms ; and their effects, from the heat of the heaviest metal in a melting state, to that of the cold produced in the congelation of quicksilver, must be different in degree, until they meet at that middle point of what we term tepid, when they are so equally blended, that the body, whether solid or fluid, may be said to be neither hot nor cold.

When heat or cold are employed for medical purposes, it should seem to be necessary that their degree be equally ascertained ; not only that they may produce all the benefit we hope for from them, but that they may not produce any injurious effects. But desirable as this criterion might be, it is totally unattainable, for reasons the truth of which will be obvious.

Whilst the feelings of men are as different

ferent as their persons, and those feelings are increased or diminished by disease, it must be evident, that the precise degree of heat or cold which each person can bear with advantage, or without injury, cannot be ascertained. The nature of the constitution, the age, sex, nature of the disease, and custom, render it impossible.

Let us take an example.

A lady consulted me at *Bath*. I advised the warm bath, and ordered (as I always did) the degree of heat I thought she could bear, which was 84; but she was obliged to have cold water let in immediately; and next day, when I visited her, I found her feverish, and she complained she had been parboiled; and yet there are many patients who can bear the utmost heat of the water in the King's Bath, and could bear even a greater heat.

I have sometimes borne a bath for my legs as hot as 115, by the thermometer, without inconvenience; at other times I could not bear it as high as 96, the heat
of

of the human body ; and many years ago, when in a languid state, I bore a hot bath, in *Augusta* county in *Virginia*, whose temperature was 125, for more than twenty minutes. As very bad and even fatal effects have been produced by excess of heat or cold, it is surprising that authors, who have written on the use of baths, have scarcely, if at all, given any cautions on this important point, and yet much depends upon it ; and this negligence is the more unpardonable, because they must have daily remarked the necessity of it.

It is a curious, and most important fact, that when heat and cold are applied immediately after each other, especially cold after heat, very powerful effects are produced.

We have an instance of this in the practice of the Indians, who raise a sweat in their wigwams, by throwing water upon stones made red hot, and afterwards throwing themselves into an adjacent rivulet.

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WARM water, milk, oil or any other bland liquid, when applied to the surface of the body, in any degree of heat, from 60 degrees of *Fahrenheit's* thermometer to 86, has a stimulating quality; yet such is the wonderfully complicated nature of a living animal body, that what may be stimulating to those organs termed the nerves, may be sedative to a simple muscular or membranous fibre, and *vice versa*; and moreover, what is a still more curious fact, the stimulating and sedative effects succeed each other, as certainly as the two species of determination.

Hence it is, that we shall be under the necessity of having recourse to the principles of irritability and determination, to account for the effects of both species of bathing.

But

But to enter more immediately on the subject.

There are many diseases which, as I remarked before, arise from that irregularity of circulation which we term increased determination; such are the two large classes of fevers, and inflammation.

Here the warm bath may be said to relieve in several ways.

1st. Let us suppose that a person has a violent inflammatory head-ach, accompanied with fever. If the patient's legs are put into warm water, the first effect will be, by its stimulus to increase the flow or determination of blood to the lower extremities, and thereby to derive it from the head, where the cause of the pain and fever is increased determination.

2dly. Another effect succeeds, which is a relaxation of the superficial vessels, so as that they may receive more blood.

3dly. As irregular circulation is often the effect of what is called spasm, by which

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the diameter of the blood-vessels of certain organs is so lessened, that they cannot admit of their usual quantity of blood; the warm water, acting as a sedative, mitigates the constriction, and thereby renders the circulation more equal and flow. Increased heat of the body, which takes place in all diseases accompanied with fever, is the effect of unequal circulation. It is, apparently, a very extraordinary circumstance, that hot water should lessen the heat of the body, and yet it is not less true. This effect it produces by diminishing unequal circulation. Here nitre an ounce to a gallon may be added, with about ʒj emetic tartar. In low fevers, a decoction of bay leaves, and a portion of *English* brandy, has succeeded admirably well. In one case it saved the life of a patient in the malignant sore throat.

4thly, It is by this principle of morbid stimulus we account for positive pain, and various other uneasy sensations, to describe which the ingenuity of man has not yet invented adequate terms.

The warm bath therefore acts as a *sedative*,

tion; and not only by saving the strength of the patient, which is more impaired by these dreadful sufferings, and the consequent loss of sleep, than by any other cause of disease whatsoever; but, by rendering circulation more equal, contributes, more than could be expected from so simple a remedy, to the abridgment of the term, and the diminution of the danger.

5thly. Another great advantage is, that the superficial vessels, by the infinite number of their mouths, suck up a very large proportion of the bland liquid; which, not only in passing to, but from, the heart, abates the heat in each canal, dilutes the blood, and its saline particles, and becomes an admirable vehicle, by which they may be carried off through the kidneys and skin.

As gratifying the great thirst of persons in fevers requires a very considerable quantity of drink, much distress often arises from its quantity and weight in the stomach: this is in a great degree prevented; for watery liquids thus sucked up, do, as experience shews, quench thirst.

Another great advantage from this mode of using a warm bath is, that it may be medicated in any degree, and the remedy sent immediately into the circulation*.

There is a class of chronic diseases in which warm bathing may be very useful; viz. the various species of rheumatism and gout, especially the inflammatory. There are also two diseases proceeding from diminished determination, palsy, and contraction of joints, in which the warm bath is very useful. In acutely painful diseases, and in the paroxysms of nervous diseases, a decoction of hemlock has been used with advantage; it will be safest to use it first as a pediluvium. Opium may always be used more liberally, and with more safety, when accompanied with the use of the warm bath, as it increases a determination to the surface.

* The author has cured children of ague by a bath, consisting of a warm decoction of bark, with an addition of vitriolum caeruleum: of the latter, the proportion of 3j to each gallon; of the former, ʒj.

2dly.

2dly. Another class of diseases which may be alleviated by the warm bath, is that which goes under the term of *nervous*: a very extensive class indeed.

As uneasy sensations constitute the chief part of these diseases, the warm water mitigates them by its sedative power; and this is the chief effect which we are to expect from it.

3dly. There is another class of diseases in which this remedy may be very useful, the eruptive: these may be divided into the acute and chronic.

The acute are the small-pox and measles. Did practitioners know the wonderfully good effects of the warm bath, especially in the former, when confluent, they would have recourse to it more frequently. In the measles, it may be used to advantage, especially when the inflammatory cough is severe.

There is another acute eruptive disease in which its utility, or even its safety, may be

be doubtful, the *St. Anthony's fire*; and therefore it ought to be applied with caution.

Of the benefit of it in herpetic, venereal, or leprous diseases, there can be no doubt; and the benefit will be the greater, as the bath may be medicated; and the remedy being long in contact with the diseased skin, and part being absorbed, the acrimony of the general mass of fluids may be corrected and washed off by the pores of the skin, and by the kidneys.

Warm sea-bathing has been recommended in these diseases; but sea salt may be dissolved in fresh water in any proportion, and the bath, thus compounded, will be equally effectual. And here it may be remarked, that, having recourse to the sea-side for the benefit of warm sea-bathing, is totally unnecessary; for a medicated bath, more efficacious, can be prepared at home.

As the warm bath ought seldom to be used, but under the direction of a medical man,

man, the Author has been less explicit and minute.

Regimen. Quale remedium, tale regimen; but this maxim is less attended to than it ought to be.

Mode of application. The warm bath may be either partial or total. The general bath is certainly the most effectual, and should be applied in all cases of danger. Even under the torrid zone, the Author has used it with great success in almost every species of fever and inflammation. He has also remarked great benefit from the vapour-bath, not only in diseases of the throat and lungs, but applied to the whole surface.

A clyster is a warm bath. In a paper the Author sent to a Medical Society in *London*, he has pointed out the great benefit of injections by a garden pump, in inflammatory and spasmodic cholic.

The time of bathing, when the case is not urgent, most proper, is that most remote from meals; because then the absorption

tion is greatest. In acute diseases no time can be improper; and where no time is to be lost, it may be repeated twice or thrice a day. The time of continuing in it, from fifteen minutes to an hour or more.

The degree of heat, from 76 to 96; gradually increasing it.

Oil or milk, as sedatives, must be preferable, as a bath, to water; nor would the latter be very expensive. Bran boiled in water would be a good substitute.

It was formerly the custom at BATH to put the patient into bed to sweat moderately after the bath, now it is less frequently the practice; but, in the mode of bathing here recommended, it ought always to be done.

CHAP. XX.

Of the COLD BATH.

THIS powerful remedy has not been so extensively used as it merits, for the following reasons :

1st. The dread of being immerfed in water, under the apprehension of being drowned.

2dly. The dread of the fenfation of cold.

3dly. The idea entertained by many phyficians that fea bathing is more effectual than that in fresh water : hence it is, that many perfons to whom cold bathing would be beneficial, finding it very inconvenient or too expenfive to go to the fea-fide, do not think of making ufe of a fubftitute.

4thly. Many perfons have defifted from cold bathing, on finding that it did not agree,

O o

without

without considering whether it was owing to the nature of the disease which rendered it *totally* improper; whether from great irritability, which made the sensation of cold intolerable to a system trembling alive; or such a degree of weakness as to make the shock from immersion dangerously great.

Some remarks on each of those heads will be expected.

1st. A cold bath may be prepared in which no danger can possibly be apprehended. A bathing-tub may be made, filled with water to the depth of 3 or 3½ feet, so that the patient leaping into the bath, must be under the necessity of suddenly squatting down, that the whole body may be covered by the water, the head excepted.

2dly. It is certain that the cold bath is improper, merely on account of the coldness of the water: if sea bathing is used, this cannot be obviated; but it is surprising that physicians have never thought of doing it by the addition of boiling water.

By

By this simple means, the Author has not only removed the apprehension of the patient, but has supplied a powerful remedy, which, without such precaution, would have been inadmissible.

It is not necessary to add more boiling water than will just take off the sensation of chilling cold; and this may be gradually lessened, until the patient can bear it quite cold.

It may be alledged that the good effects which we expect from the impression of the cold, will be lessened by this means; but allowing this to be the case, which is, nevertheless, not certain, it will be amply compensated, by the great benefit to be derived from a remedy which, otherwise, could not have been used at all; and for the want of which no other remedy could compensate.

3dly. If sea-water is preferred to fresh, a proportionable quantity of salt may be added; but there is very little reason to think that the salt, by adding to the specific gravity, will much increase the shock arising

from the resistance; though, probably, if the bath is used during the solution of the salt, it may increase its coldness, because all saline substances, during their solution in water, generate cold, or to speak more accurately, render latent a considerable portion of the heat, which was before sensible.

But even in chronic eruptions, instantaneous immersion in cold salt water can be of little use, though a bath of warm sea water may.

Every purpose, therefore, of bathing in the sea, may be answered by bathing at home, and much expence and inconvenience saved.

4thly. Cold bathing is undoubtedly an *Herculean* remedy, and there are many diseases in which it must be injurious. Of this *A.* had the fullest proof four or five years ago, when in the neighbourhood of the sea. Being there a volunteer physician, it may be supposed he was very generally consulted.

Many

Many of the cases were such as were *absolutely* unfit for the use of the remedy : many were disordered by it, because they were not properly prepared ; did not accompany its use with that of proper remedies ; or used an improper regimen : all which circumstances will be taken notice of hereafter ; but many of them could have used it with great advantage, if boiling water had been added. Such were those who, either constitutionally or in consequence of disease, were so delicate that they could not bear the sensation of cold.

The *Cold Bath* seems to act by the weight of the volume of water on the surface of the body, combined with the action of cold on the cutaneous nerves ; by both which the progress of the blood towards the surface is checked, and this creating a momentary suspension of the arterial circulation, the heart, in the instant, cannot empty itself fully.

What is the reason of what most frequently happens ; viz. an almost instantaneous glow of heat on the surface of the body ?

body? The answer is, that if the heart be not much weakened, it contracts with greater vigour to overcome the resistance; the blood is pushed into the series of arterial canals, with proportionable force, until it reaches the skin; and as motion generates heat, the glow is produced.

On the other hand, when the heart is weak, it cannot exert itself with force, and the sense of chilliness continues, by which the patient is very much distressed. This is to be prevented in two ways: either by putting the patient upon the use of warm strengthening medicines; as bark with serpentaria, canella alba, or nutmeg, and the liberal use of animal food and wine; or by adding some boiling water to the bath. It will often be proper to begin the medicines and regimen some time before the bathing is begun, continuing them during the course of bathing, lessening, however, by degrees, the dose of the remedy, and the quantity of strong drink, and leaving off the use of the remedies altogether, before the course is finished.

It

It remains farther to be considered in what diseases the cold bath may be beneficial or injurious, and what regulations may be necessary for the use of it.

1st. The COLD BATH may be beneficial in cases of general weakness, excepting such as shall be hereafter taken notice of. For the cold bath is undoubtedly a corroborant or strengthener of the body, especially when weakened by disease. This is sufficient, as the exceptions will be more particularly mentioned.

2dly. What are those circumstances under which the COLD BATH may be injurious? It is not easy to determine, because physicians have been very careless and inaccurate on this head, and therefore the Author must rely on his own experience; and even this has not been such as to enable him to be very decided.

1st. When the patient is very weak, it is supposed that the shock from the weight and cold will be too much, and may overstrain
or

or overwhelm the powers of the heart, and either violently restrain, or totally suppress the powers of life. But if the remedies and regimen, mentioned before, are used both before and during the course of bathing, and a little hot water is added, it may, at least, be tried, and either pursued or desisted from, as it agrees or otherwise. The most infallible proof of its agreeing, is, the immersion being quickly succeeded by a glow of warmth on the surface, and during the rest of the day the patient is free from head-ach and depression of spirits. But if, after several trials, the contrary effects are produced, it must not be continued.

2dly. It is said, that the *Cold Bath* is injurious when the internal organs are not sound; as in obstinate head-ach, shortness of breath or asthma, permanent palpitation of the heart, obstruction of the liver, especially with a jaundiced or ash-coloured hue of the countenance, and swelling of the ancles; or in anasarca or ascites.

A. cannot absolutely determine whether
the

the cold bath is improper under all those circumstances. He believes the objections were formed rather from hypothesis, than from experience ; at least, so far as relates to different species of dropsy, which often arise from mere weakness, without any visceral obstruction.

What seems to encourage a trial of the cold bath in dropsies, even in *ascites*, unless the belly is very much distended indeed, is the success we experience from the use of emetics in these diseases. Emetics and the cold bath act by increasing absorption of the extravasated serum.

In the other diseases, the cold bath may be tried, if emetics have not exasperated the symptoms ; but if after two or three trials it disagrees, it must not be persisted in. The reason why a trial of this powerful remedy is recommended, is, that, even supposing its use to be so hazardous as is alledged in visceral obstructions, the symptoms of such obstructions are not very certain.

3dly. The cold bath is deemed improper in all external and internal inflammations. In external erysipelas, all cold applications are certainly improper; but where inflammation of the internal organs is supposed to be of the erysipelatoſe kind, the malignant yellow fever for instance, it merits a trial in that fatal diſeaſe.

4thly. This remedy may be tried in all hæmorrhages, even in *fluxu menſtruali nimio*, not only in the interval, but during the hæmorrhage.

5thly. In *nervous* diſeaſes it may be beneficial, at *leaſt* in the abſence of the paroxyſm; but it has of late been found that it is very powerful in the *tetanus*, during the utmoſt violence of the paroxyſm; and we know that the aſperſion of cold water will remove hysterical fainting; and it certainly merits a trial in Chorea Sancti Viti, and epilepſy. Its operation in theſe caſes ſeems to be by producing a great and ſudden change in the nervous ſyſtem.

6thly.

6thly. In *chronic RHEUMATISM*, and *PALSY*, it may be tried, especially after a course of warm bathing: some physicians have been even so hardy as to recommend it in the interval between fits of *GOUT*.

7thly. In *chronic cutaneous ERUPTIONS* it is not likely to be of use, warm medicated baths being preferable.

Regulations for the use of the Cold Bath.

1st. It is not necessary to dip the head before the body: the idea on which it is directed is erroneous.

2d. The morning, before breakfast, is the best time; and the patient should have every part of the body well rubbed, both before and after bathing.

3d. When the course commences, thrice a week will be sufficient; increasing the time of repetition once every succeeding week, till the patient bathes every day; and after bathing three weeks in this manner, then let the times of bathing be gradually lessened.

4th. No certain rule can be laid down for the continuance of this course: when the patient bathes at home, it may be continued through the winter, only dashing the water with some boiling water in extremely cold weather.

5th. Summer is the best time to commence bathing, and it may now and then be omitted for a week, and renewed for two or three,

6th. The water need only be changed every third day in summer, and every week in winter.

7th. The belly ought not to be allowed to be costive, but the aperient ought to be very mild.

8th. The regimen ought to be generous, both with respect to animal food and wine.

9th. Enough has already been said respecting the symptoms which encourage, or dissuade from, the use of the COLD BATH.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

THE Author having just been informed that Mr. *Wilberforce* grounds his argument in favour of the abolition of the slave trade, partly on the practicability of working sugar plantations by means of white persons; he therefore deems it necessary to offer a few remarks on the subject.

He has already observed that, of strangers who visit those islands, either in the civil, military, or naval lines, a much greater proportion dies than of the imported *Africans*, or native whites or slaves.

Change of climate produces great, and often noxious alterations in animal bodies.

Vides etiam cœli novitate et aquarum.
Tentari, procul a patria quicunque domoque
Adveniunt, ideo quia longe discrepat aer.

LUCR. lib. vi.

Con-

Convinced of the truth of this remark, when the Author was informed that General *Grant* had arrived with an army at *Barbadoes*, intended for the conquest of some of the *French* islands, he dispatched some hints to that gentleman, on the best means of preserving the healths of the soldiery, and strongly inculcated the necessity of employing slaves to perform all the laborious duties.

It has been said that this precaution had not been sufficiently adverted to during that gentleman's command, and that great mortality was the consequence: but when Gen. *O'Hara*, who had resided on the coast of *Africa* for some time, commanded at *St. Lucia*, he employed the slaves on every occasion, and the good effects were manifest. A confirming circumstance occurred to the Author in 1763. The 66th regiment relieved the 38th at *Antigua*. During six weeks previous to *A.*'s leaving the island, after its arrival, the havock among the privates was very great, notwithstanding the attention of Colonel *Wedderburne*, the commanding officer.

Strangers

Strangers are seized with a *seasoning* fever, which is often fatal, in consequence of *European* habits not being assimilated to the climate, especially after a short passage in winter.

The same mortality must prevail among convicts, if such were to be substituted in the room of slaves; but were not this the case, the plan is otherwise so totally impracticable, that it would be mere waste of words to combat it by a variety of argument.

The Author therefore asserts positively, that an immediate abolition of the slave trade, must effectually ruin the sugar colonies, and inevitably involve the mother country in bankruptcy and ruin*.

* Can Great Britain bear the loss of two millions of annual revenue? Such certainly must be the result of the abolition of the slave trade, at the end of a very few years!

F I N I S.

E R R A T A.

The Author is very sorry, that, in consequence of his distance from the press, the absence of a friend, and the extreme incorrectness of the Printer of the first part of this work, it is given to the Public in so incorrect a state.

In the dedication, after the governor, add, the honourable the members of his majesty's council.

Page 25, line 3, *for* sailor's letter; who, he confesses, *read* sailor's letters, criticises them with more reluctance, as he confesses, &c.

P. 28, l. 9, *for* bonum, he would, *read* bonum, he should.

P. 37, l. 5, *for* Matthews, *read* Mathew.

P. 39, l. 15, *transfer the * from* Sir C. Middleton to Dr. C. Smith.

P. 60, l. 3, *dele* Sir George Thomas.

P. 62, l. 19, *read*, tired as he is, *ad nauseam usque*, of the subject.

P. 64, l. 14, *for* power, *read* powers.

P. 65, l. 7, *for* A. *read* Antigua.

P. 66, l. 5, *for* (100 of the 60th regiment), *read*, (many of them too of the 60th regiment, real foreigners, Germans, Dutch, and Swifs) admitted, and.

P. 67, l. 11, *read*, and was, as will, &c.

P. 71, l. 23, *for* pecuation, *read* speculation.

P. 77, l. 12, *for* officers, *read* officer.

P. 80, l. 8, *for* ingenuous, *read* ingenious.

P. 80, l. 18, *for* possitively, *read* positively.

P. 89, l. 10. *dele* they.

P. 91, l. 4, *the quotation from the sailor's letters ought to be placed after* line 14, p. 90.

P. 95, l. 19, *for* disdain, *read* disdaind.

Ibid. ult. *for* held is, *read* held, are.

P. 104, l. 4, *for* illy, *read* ill.

P. 105, l. 14, *dele* a.

P. 113, l. 2, *for* subdivided, *read* subdivide.

P. 116, l. 14, *for* souls, *read* soils.

P. 123, l. 4, *for* considrable, *read* considerable.

P. 134, l. 8, *for* epedemic, *read* epidemic.

P. 139, l. 14, *for* a, *read* any.

P. 149, l. 18, *for* their, *read* there.

P. 157, l. 20, *for* have, *read* has.

P. 169, l. 4. *for* disqualify them, *read* disqualifies him.

P. 189, *transfer the notes in pages 184 and 185 to the bottom of this page.*

P. 257, l. 2, *for* quam quæ, *read* quamque.

P. 273, l. 23, *for* acid, *read* acrid.

P. 297, l. 11, *for* Semetertians, *read* Semitertians.

Ibid. l. 17, *for* quindecem *read* quindecim, as also in p. 302, l. 20. 330, l. 11. and p. 345, l. 4.

P. 297, l. 18, *for* q. i. adplen. *read* q. f. ad plen.

Ibid. l. 22, *for* demidium, *read* dimidium.

P. 299, l. 11, *for* membraneous, *read* membranous.

P. 302, l. 3, *for* pluropneumony, *read* pleuropneumony.

P. 325, l. 2, *for* proven, *read* proved.

P. 330, l. 14, *for* dimido, *read* dimidio.



